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# *The American* **FEDERATIONIST**

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

APRIL, 1954

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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## *Middle Life*

In the seven stages of man's life, there are three epochs more distinctly marked than the rest, viz., the departure of boyhood, the departure of youth, the commencement of old age. It is of the second that I am about to treat.

It seems to me that to reflective and lofty minds accustomed to survey and fitted to comprehend the great aims of life, this is a period peculiarly solemn and important. It is a spot for which we ought to rest for a while from our journey. It is the summit of the hill from which we look down on two even divisions of our journey.

The young usually pass through a period of misanthropy, and the misanthropy is acute in proportion to their own generous confidence in human excellence. But out of the ashes of misanthropy benevolence rises again. We find many virtues where we had imagined all was vice. And so gradually from the two extremes we pass to the proper medium; and feeling that no human being is wholly good or wholly base, we learn that true knowledge of mankind which induces us to expect little and forgive much.

The years through which we have passed have probably developed in us whatever capacities we possess. They have taught us in what we are most likely to excel and for what we are most fitted. To be practical we must exercise ourselves in that vocation which our special qualities enable us to practice.

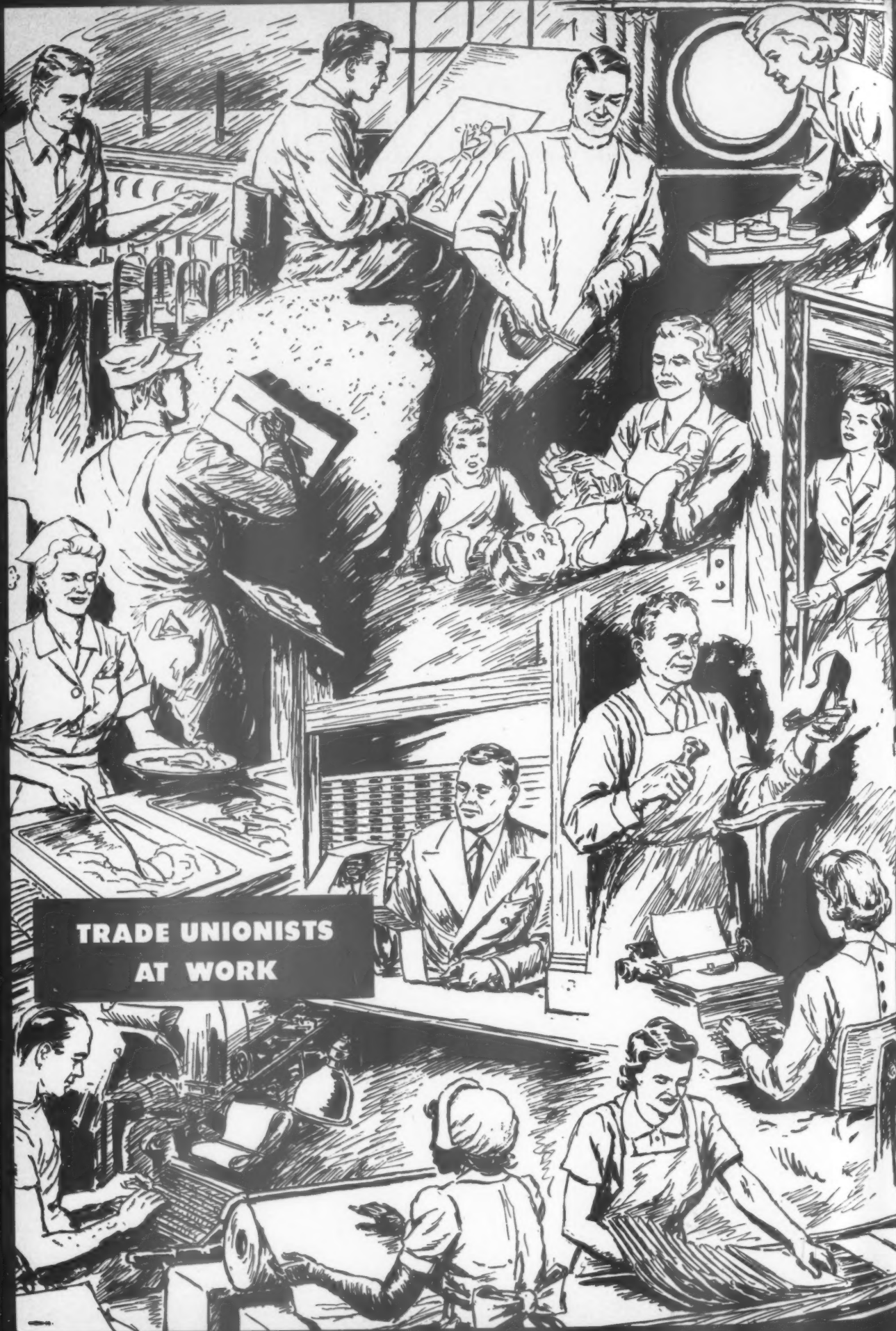
This is the age in which, while experience becomes our guide, we should follow its dictates with a certain measured and zealous caution. We must remember how apt man is to extremes, rushing from credulity and weakness to suspicion and distrust. And still, if we are truly prudent, we shall cherish, despite occasional delusions, those noblest and happiest of our tendencies—to love and to confide.

This, too, is the age in which we ought calmly to take the fitting estimate of the opinions of the world. In vigorous and tried manhood, we should be all in all to ourselves. Our own past and our own future should be our main guides.

*Edward Bulwer.*

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**TRADE UNIONISTS  
AT WORK**



# LET US GROW

By **BORIS SHISHKIN**

*Director of Research,  
American Federation of Labor*

**B**ETWEEN October, 1953, and January, 1954, unemployment skyrocketed from less than 1.2 million to more than 3 million, as reported by the Census. By February, another 600,000 were added to the ranks of the unemployed, the total Census count reaching 3,671,000. Between February and March, the unemployment rise slowed down, increasing only 50,000 during the month.

This is a good sign, but it isn't good enough.

Much is being made of the fact that the economic situation is becoming "stabilized." Comparisons with 1952 are offered to reassure the public. We are told that we are likely to do as well—or almost as well—in 1954 as we did in 1952, or maybe as well as in 1948.

The economic recession that developed during the past year must be halted. But it isn't enough to stop it. It must be reversed. Our economy is dynamic. Forces at work within it interact. One downward trend sets off other downward movements. One upward development starts other developments on the upward course.

Our economy must either go up or go down. It will never stand still.

We are a rapidly growing country. In January, 1948, our population was 145 million. In January, 1952, it was 156 million. By January, 1953, it became 158.4 million and in January, 1954, it reached 161.3 million. Next January we should have over 164 million people in the United States.

This will mean a population increase of 8 million since 1952 and nearly 20 million since 1948.

It is easy to see, then, that by January of 1955 our national income, production, trade and employment must all be greater than they were in 1952 or 1948. If they are not, it will not mean that we are standing still; it will mean that we have gone down.

In the second quarter of 1953—that is, from April through June of last year—the value of all

goods and services produced was at the annual rate of \$371 billion. In the first quarter, from January through March, 1954, it was \$363 billion.

What is important to understand is that in the first quarter of 1954 our total production was not only running \$8 billion below the annual rate of the second quarter of 1953 but also some \$18 billion below the rate it should have reached in the first quarter of 1954 if we had full production and full employment.

As we go on measuring the volume of production, investment, consumer outlays, employment and other phases of our economic life from month to month, the real test of where they stand is in relation to where they should stand in a full economy.

At the heart of America's economic problem is consumer buying power. Between the second quarter of 1953 and the first quarter of 1954, the annual rate of personal consumption expenditures declined about \$2.4 billion. This is not a big drop in itself. But when you realize that in the first quarter of 1954 personal consumption expenditures were running some \$9 billion below the rate they should have maintained in a full-employment economy, the seriousness of the gap in buying power becomes clear.

This is why the soothing and complacent official talk about stabilizing unemployment at 4 million or stabilizing production or income at the present levels is a little frightening. Because, no matter how sincere and reassuring it may sound, it is depression talk.

Our technology has not been frozen. Our population has not stopped rising. Our standard of living must continue to increase.

Economic policies of our government are not good policies if they are designed to make the country stand still. It is because Americans will not stand still that they insist on policies that will let their country grow and will help it grow.

# BERLIN-GENEVA

## *An Analysis of the Results of the Berlin Conference and the Implications Thereof for the Geneva Meeting*

By **GEORGE MEANY**

President, American Federation of Labor

**A**FTER protracted negotiations, much opposition and obstruction on the part of Moscow, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union met in Berlin from January 25 to February 18, 1954. During the last year the three Western democracies had been especially insistent that such a Four-Power Conference take place, for the following reasons: (1) Because nearly nine years had passed since the end of the war in Europe, the need was urgently felt for ending the partition of Germany, establishing a freely elected all-German government and concluding a peace treaty with that country. (2) It was also deemed necessary finally to grant Austria the State Treaty for which she had been waiting since 1945. (3) The West wanted to have an opportunity to find out whether there had been any change in Soviet foreign policy since Stalin's death.

Originally, the Western Powers had planned to limit the negotiations to the German and Austrian problems. But, on the insistence of the Soviet Union, they agreed to enlarge the agenda and include as the *first* item "Measures for reducing tension in international relations and convening a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, the United States, Soviet Russia and China."

### I

#### *"Measures for Reducing Tension in International Relations"*

From the very beginning of the Berlin Conference, it was evident that Molotov was really interested *only* in this item on the agenda and, above all, in its second part, *the convening of a Five-Power Conference with the inclusion of Communist China*. In the light of Molotov's

later statements and actions on German reunification and the Austrian State Treaty, it is easy to understand his insistence on that topic above all else and his repeated efforts to delay the discussion on Germany and Austria as long as possible.

An even more important reason for Molotov's perti-



Representing U.S.A.—John Foster Dulles

THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

nacity was the Kremlin strategy to have the Mao regime accorded international diplomatic recognition by including it among the Big Powers. To lend an appearance of legality to his demand for giving Communist China the status of a Fifth Big Power, Molotov cited the Potsdam Agreement, which provided for setting up a Council of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, France, Soviet Russia and China. However, in the post-Potsdam period itself, Moscow had sabotaged this proposal for a Five-Power Council because the Soviet rulers were bitterly hostile to the Chiang Kai-shek government. Now Molotov "suddenly" sought to revive the Council of the Five Foreign Ministers, *for the sake of Peiping*. Secretary of State Dulles was right when he reminded the Soviet Foreign Minister that the originally proposed Potsdam Council had only a limited purpose—namely, the conclusion of the peace settlements.

However, according to Molotov's proposals at Berlin, the scope of the Five Power Conference was to be much larger. It would deal with military questions (disarmament, ban on atomic weapons), political issues (Communist China's admission to the U.N.), and economic problems (international trade). In this connection, it is very significant that Molotov never even mentioned the U.N. In fact, acceptance of his plan would have meant the definite by-passing of the world organization and its replacement by a new international body. *The conception underlying the Soviet proposal was that of Big Power domination of the world—beginning as Five Power rule and ending as hegemony by the Moscow-Peiping Axis.*

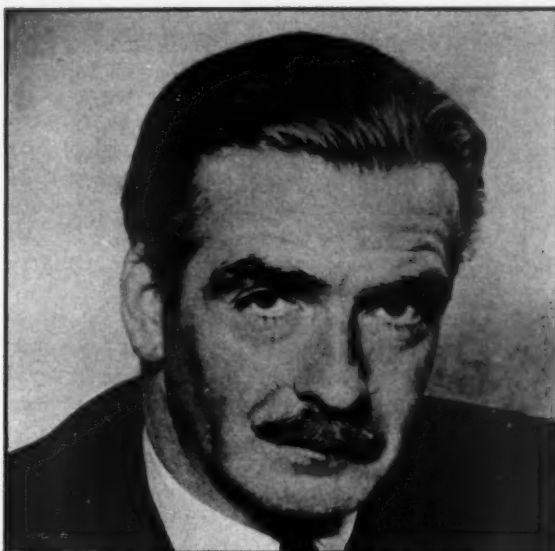
The Western Foreign Ministers rejected the Molotov Plan for a Five-Power Conference on general problems, but they did not exclude negotiations with Communist China on so-called specific problems or, as Mr. Dulles put it, "where occasion requires." Thus, the West left the door open for the subsequent decision to hold the Geneva Conference.

Referring to the causes of existing tension in international relations, Molotov repeated the charges contained in the Soviet note of November 3, 1953: The United States was branded the main villain and was accused of aggressive designs and policies. Insofar as Molotov touched upon the German problem in this connection, he promptly centered his attack on the European Defense Community (E.D.C.). He pursued these tactics throughout the whole conference. At the very outset Molotov not only put the Western representatives on the defensive but also diverted attention from the central, *but for him very distasteful*, problem of all-German free elections.

## II

### "The German Question and the Problem of Insuring European Security"

When the Western Foreign Ministers compelled the Soviet Minister to agree that the conference should finally turn to its most important item on the agenda, *the problem of Germany*, and submitted the Eden Plan for



For Britain—Anthony Eden

German reunification, it was the first *and the last* time during the Berlin confab that the democracies had the initiative.

### A. The Eden Plan

*The Eden Plan is based firmly on the principle of free elections.* It provides for German reunification and the conclusion of a peace treaty with a united Germany through the following stages:

The four occupation powers would be charged with the election preparations, especially the drafting of an electoral law. The elections would take place under the control of a supervisory commission composed of representatives of the four powers with or without participation of neutrals. It will be recalled that the American



For France—Georges Bidault



Federation of Labor some time ago had proposed that the supervision of all-German elections should be carried out by the U.N. However, the Eden Plan expressly states that the supervisory commission should work on a committee basis and that its decisions should be taken by majority vote.

Under the Eden Plan, the all-German elections would establish an all-German National Assembly. Its main task would be the drafting of a constitution. The Assembly "may form a provisional all-German authority charged with assisting the Assembly in drafting a constitution and with preparing the nucleus of future all-German ministries." After the adoption of the constitution by the Assembly, an all-German government would be formed to replace the Federal (Bonn) Government and the East German Pankow regime.

*This provision is a weak point in the Eden Plan.* History shows that the drafting of a constitution usually takes a long time. During the entire period, the Communist terror regime in the Soviet Zone would continue to function and seriously endanger the prospects in this part of Germany for the free elections necessary as the final step in the formation of an all-German government. Fearing reprisals after the elections, the population of Eastern Germany would be hampered in the free expression of its political will. Aware of this danger, the Eden Plan considers it "desirable for part of the supervisory machinery to remain in operation in order to prevent action after the elections which would impair conditions of genuine freedom under which they will have to be held." But this proposal does not provide an adequate guarantee for really free elections in the Soviet Zone. It would be much better to have the National Assembly establish at once an *all-German government similar to the one which governed Germany in 1919 during the period between the elections to the National Assembly and the adoption of the Weimar constitution. This all-German government could at once assume the powers held by the Federal Republic and the Ulbricht-Grotewohl regime.*

## B. Molotov's Plan for German Reunification

Eden's plan was an unpleasant surprise for Molotov, since it put in the foreground of the discussion the question of free elections—a topic which the Soviet Foreign Minister utterly disliked. Having been unable to prevent the conference from debating Germany, Molotov resorted to every possible maneuver and trick to avoid declaring himself unequivocally on this decisive problem.

First, he demanded that representatives of the Bonn government and Moscow's East German satellite participate in the discussions on Germany. Pursuing the tactics he employed in the discussion of Communist China, he now tried to induce the Western democracies to accept the Pankow regime as the legitimate representative of the German population of the Soviet Zone. He wanted, thereby, also to prepare the ground for his main proposal regarding the German question—his plan for German "reunification" on the basis of the Lublin formula.

This formula, applied in Poland, led to the snuffing out of Polish national independence and to the establishment of a Communist dictatorship actually headed by Russian Field Marshal Rokossovsky. This first Soviet attempt was easily defeated by the Western Ministers.

Brushing aside repeated questions regarding German free elections put to him by Eden, Bidault and Dulles, the Soviet Foreign Minister instead violently attacked the E.D.C. as a gigantic American conspiracy designed to revive aggressive German militarism and menace the security of all European countries, especially Germany's neighbors and the Soviet Union. He sought to play on the fears of the former victims of Nazi imperialism, especially the French people, and to intensify the apprehensions felt in the ranks of the German democratic labor movement regarding a return to power by the old militarist clique. In addition, he cleverly exploited the inadequacies of the Bonn and Paris treaties in regard to granting full German sovereignty. These inadequacies we of the A. F. of L. have criticized many times and have proposed positive measures to eliminate them.

As a result of Molotov's maneuver, the E.D.C. became the issue that dominated the debate on Germany and even on Austria. His attacks against E.D.C. led to long statements by the Western Foreign Ministers in its defense. One of Molotov's principal arguments was that a future all-German government would not be sovereign in its foreign policy because it would be bound by E.D.C. Thereupon, in agreement with Bidault and Dulles, Eden changed the clause of his proposal on German reunification which read: "The all-German government shall have the authority to assume the rights and obligations of the Federal Republic and the Soviet Zone of Germany . . ." by adding that such a government would also be free to reject any such previously concluded agreements. Molotov studiously ignored this modification. He continued to misrepresent the aims and methods of E.D.C. and American policy in Europe. He deliberately ignored an offer by Eden to extend the duration of the Anglo-Soviet mutual assistance pact in order to decrease Soviet fears of a revival of German militarism.

To counter the Eden Plan, Molotov introduced two proposals of his own. The first was a draft peace treaty providing for the establishment of an unarmed, neutralized Germany with the Oder-Neisse line as her Eastern border and a political regime based exclusively on "democratic parties and organizations," i.e., the Communist Party and its front organizations. This proposal also stipulated that the occupation troops be withdrawn not later than one year after the ratification of the peace treaty. This would leave Germany at the mercy of the "People's Police," the large army organized by the Communist regime in the Eastern Zone, and the Soviet armed forces poised on the Oder. Because of the unfavorable experience which the Western Powers have had with the Soviet stalling tactics in the preparation of an Austrian Treaty and because it was obvious that this "peace plan" would assure the Sovietization of Germany in quick time, the Western representatives could not pos-

sibly regard this Molotov blueprint as a contribution to the solution of the German problem.

Still stubbornly refusing to commit himself in regard to all-German free elections, Molotov offered, as a substitute, the holding of a plebiscite by the German people on the question: peace treaty or E.D.C. However, the fact that he did not reiterate this proposal shows that he himself did not take it seriously and used it only as a delaying maneuver.

Finally, on February 4, during the tenth session of the conference, the Russian Foreign Minister took notice of the Eden Plan—only to reject it summarily with a violent attack on the whole system of parliamentary democracy, which he blamed for Hitler's rise to power. In this "reasoning" Molotov resorted to liquidation of the truth and chose to forget that the Nazis were able to seize power only because the German parliamentary system had been previously weakened. The German Communists had contributed greatly to the undermining of democracy and its consequent incapacity to resist the Hitler drive. Molotov also sneered at what he called "parliamentary formalities to which one must not pay one-sided attention." But actually it was not the loyal adherence to, but the growing violation of, precisely these "parliamentary formalities" which prepared the ground for the Hitler dictatorship. We need but point to rule by emergency decrees, Article 48 of the Weimar constitution and the constant increase in Presidential powers at the expense of Parliament. Contrary to Molotov's assertion, the Nazis succeeded in establishing their dictatorship not because there was too much democracy in prewar Germany but because there was too little.

Instead of the Eden Plan, Molotov submitted his own plan for German reunification. Its main provisions consisted of the old Soviet proposals: (1) The first step would be the formation of a provisional all-German government by the Bonn Parliament and the satellite regime of the Eastern Zone "with wide participation of democratic organizations." (2) This government would be empowered to administer Germany during the peace negotiations and the period of preparation and holding of elections in which only "democratic parties and organizations" would be permitted to take part. (3) Germany would be neutralized. (4) The occupation forces would be withdrawn even prior to the elections "with the exception of limited contingents left to perform protective functions arising out of the tasks of control by the four powers—for the Soviet Union in regard to East Germany and for the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France in regard to West Germany."

Obviously, the all-German government proposed by Molotov would be only another Lublin government. The elections it would organize in Germany would follow the pattern of the so-called elections held by the Lublin satellite regime in Poland—elections which led to the elimination of every element opposing full Sovietization.

The Molotov proposal bans the participation of all "non-democratic"—read non-Communist—parties and organizations in any all-German elections and excludes

supervision of such elections either by the U.N. or neutral countries or commissions composed of representatives of the four powers. The above-quoted provision concerning the withdrawal of the occupation forces, even prior to the elections, stipulates expressly that during the elections only Soviet limited contingents would have the right to control the Eastern Zone. It is evident that this proposal would guarantee the Soviet Union the exclusive right to supervise the elections in East Germany and to exclude any impartial control of the election campaign and balloting.

When the Russian Foreign Minister rejected the Eden Plan, Mr. Dulles complained bitterly about Molotov's tricky methods. He pointed out that, after the Western Ministers had amended the Eden Plan to provide that the future all-German government would have the right to reject E.D.C.—in order "to meet what we understood were Mr. Molotov's views"—then he (Molotov) said he rejected the whole plan." In spite of this experience, the West offered Molotov another concession, *The Bidault Plan*. This plan provides for the supervision of German elections by a commission composed of representatives of the Federal Republic, the Ulbricht regime in East Germany, and a neutral nation acting as mediator. This proposal came dangerously close to Molotov's Lublin formula for an all-German government and all-German elections. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L., at its sessions in February, characterized the Bidault Plan as leading to cringing appeasement.

But the Soviet Foreign Minister ignored this concession, too. He insisted on the acceptance of his proposals on Germany *in toto*—on the complete capitulation and unconditional surrender by the Western Powers. Thus did Soviet unwillingness to abandon its expansionist imperialist policies make it impossible for the Berlin Conference to adopt a decision for German reunification in freedom.

### III

#### *Soviet Proposals on "European Security"*

While Molotov's plan for German reunification aimed at transforming all Germany into a Soviet satellite, his proposal on European security was designed to subject the whole European continent to control by Moscow. Based on the concept of "Europe for the Europeans," the Russian fifty-year "security treaty" provides for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact among "all European states." Under Article 7 of this Soviet plan, E.D.C. and NATO would be scrapped. In this so-called all-European setup, the United States would be confined to the role of an "observer"—a "concession" greatly outweighed by Communist China exercising the same function.

Through this plan the Kremlin intends to extend the network of "agreements" concluded between Moscow and its European satellites. Under its Article 10, these "agreements" would be valid. Deprived of any assistance by non-European democratic states, like the United States and the overseas countries of the British Commonwealth, the free European nations would thus

be confronted by a gigantic military power stretching over two continents. Their fate would soon parallel that of the Baltic states, Poland and Czechoslovakia, which in signing similar "assistance" pacts with Moscow were also assured the "protection" of the Soviet Union.

In connection with this "general security" treaty, Molotov introduced the following auxiliary proposal regarding the status of Germany: pending German reunification and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, both the Federal Republic and the Soviet Zone should be neutralized and become parties to the general "security" treaty. Here the Kremlin spokesman again demanded that the occupation forces be withdrawn, with the exception of limited contingents. But on this occasion Moscow made an *important reservation*—*the occupancy powers would have the right to move back their forces* "in case the security in either part of Germany is threatened." Hence, in the event of another June 17 revolt, the Soviet troops would again be called upon to crush an uprising against the Communist regime.

Some have speculated that the new Soviet rulers might be prepared to accept German reunification through free elections in exchange for the neutralization of Germany. *This auxiliary Soviet proposal has destroyed all such illusions.* In this auxiliary proposal Moscow demands German neutralization without offering any compensation whatsoever for it. In other words, Western Germany is to be neutralized, while the Eastern Zone would continue in the military camp of the Soviet Empire. What is more, the entire Molotov Plan means that the whole of free Europe is to be made defenseless, without the Soviet Union paying any price for such an enormous sacrifice by the democratic countries.

The discussion of Moscow's so-called security pact for Europe provided the democratic foreign ministers an excellent opportunity to point out the real cause of present-day European insecurity—namely, the aggressive Soviet expansionist imperialism and the tragic fate of its European victims, the peoples of the satellite states. Unfortunately, the Western Foreign Ministers did not avail themselves of this opportunity.

*They refrained from making it clear that the very first prerequisite for any real European security is the withdrawal of Soviet troops behind the pre-World War II borders of the Soviet Union and the holding of free elections under U.N. supervision in all countries which had been forcibly incorporated into the Soviet orbit since 1939.* Bidault, Dulles and Eden would have been well-advised to stress that only after the Soviet Union had met this prerequisite could the people of free Europe, the people of the present Soviet satellite states and the Russian people themselves have tangible evidence that the Kremlin rulers were prepared to join with the democratic powers in guaranteeing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

#### IV

##### *The Austrian State Treaty*

After 374 discussions on an Austrian State Treaty—

over a period of more than seven years—the Berlin Conference made another attempt to overcome Russian opposition to concluding such a treaty.

When the Foreign Ministers began the discussion of this third item on the agenda, there were only five articles of the Austrian draft treaty on which no agreement had as yet been reached. Hopes had been raised that it would be possible to arrive quickly at an understanding on these disputed points. But the moment Molotov submitted new amendments to the Austrian Treaty these hopes vanished. He proposed new conditions, quite different from and in addition to the previous Soviet objections.

First of all, he made the signing of that treaty contingent upon the demilitarization of the Territory of Trieste and the neutralization of Austria. Secondly, he insisted that, even after the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty, the withdrawal of the occupation troops should be postponed until the signing of a German peace treaty. In arguing for his new demands, Molotov spoke of the need "to prevent any attempt at a new *anschluss*." This bogus danger exists only in the fantasy of the Russian rulers and serves them as a pretext for maintaining their grip on Austria. Today Austria is not seeking to tie up with Germany or to have its issue or fate dependent upon a solution of the German question. Today it is the Kremlin itself that resorts to a special *anschluss* strategy by binding the Austrian Treaty question to the German treaty problem. Thereby Moscow seeks to block the sovereignty and national freedom of Austria as well as Germany.

Austria and the three Western Foreign Ministers promptly rejected Molotov's new amendments to the Austrian State Treaty. At the same time they stated their willingness to accept the previous Russian proposals for the five remaining unsettled clauses of the treaty. These articles not only give important economic advantages to Russia but, under the terms of one of them, Austria is even prohibited from offering asylum to anti-Communist refugees! The West made a further concession to Moscow by agreeing to the neutralization of Austria. But all these Western concessions were in vain. *Molotov was not prepared to renounce his proposal which stipulated that the occupation troops would stay in Austria until a peace treaty with Germany was concluded.* Since the previous debate on German reunification had ended without agreement and since the final Soviet proposal on Germany had envisaged continued partition of that country for the foreseeable future, this stipulation would have meant the postponement of Austrian independence for an indefinite period. Thus, Moscow's unacceptable demands once more prevented the signing of the Austrian State Treaty.

#### V

##### *The Geneva Conference*

Molotov's main efforts in Berlin were directed at gaining some kind of international recognition for Russia's partner, Communist China. He failed to have the Mao



Tse-tung regime invited to participate in a Five-Power Conference on general world problems but succeeded in obtaining an agreement for a conference on Far Eastern problems in which the Peiping government would take part.

On the last day of the Berlin Conference—and after six secret sessions devoted to this question—the Four Foreign Ministers announced that on April 26 a conference on Korea and Indo-China would be held in Geneva, Switzerland. Representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Soviet Russia, Republic of Korea, North Korea, Communist China and other countries which fought in the Korean war would be invited to participate in an attempt to reach “a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.” Furthermore, the Big Four, representatives of Peiping “and other interested states” would be invited to take part in sessions dealing with the Indo-Chinese situation. The communiqué announcing the Geneva meeting stated that the conference did not “imply diplomatic recognition in any case where it has not already been accorded.”

Those supporting the decision to hold the Geneva meeting, with Communist China as a participant, have asserted that, in regard to Korea, this conclave would be no different from the political conference which the United Nations tried to arrange during the Panmunjom talks. However, there are several *significant differences* between the two. The Panmunjom meetings were suspended last December because the Communists refused to withdraw their accusation of “perfidy” against the United States. At Geneva negotiations will be resumed with Communist China *in spite of its refusal to withdraw the charge of “perfidy.”* Besides, Geneva will differ from Panmunjom in that it will be a round-table conference at which *no distinction be made between the aggressors and the sixteen U.N. members who resisted them in defense of U.N. principles.* The United Nations are not even mentioned in the decision for the Geneva gathering. At Panmunjom, the United States tried hard to have Russia sit on the aggressor, Communist side in the projected political conference. At Geneva, Russia’s infamous role in the Korean war is entirely ignored. After Berlin, Russia appears as equal sponsor of the Geneva meeting, together with the United States, Great Britain and France. This is *appeasement of aggression at its source* and a blow to the camp of peace.

In regard to Indo-China, the West has also made vital concessions to Moscow and Peiping. In the first days of the Berlin Conference, when Molotov proposed talks with Peiping on the Indo-China situation, French Foreign Minister Bidault declared that no peace negotiations could take place *before* Mao Tse-tung had suspended his arms aid to the rebel Ho Chi Minh. But at the conclusion of Berlin this very important condition was completely abandoned. The communiqué does not say a word about this prerequisite laid down by Bidault. It is not clear who are “the other interested states” which will be invited to the talks on Indo-China. One of them probably will be Ho Chi Minh’s Communist quisling regime.

*The mere fact of having been invited to participate in a conference with the United States, Great Britain and France will greatly increase the prestige of the Indo-Chinese rebels among the people of Indo-China and all Asia.* This invitation will encourage and aid Ho Chi Minh’s aggressive and subversive activities and weaken the will of the Indo-Chinese population to resist him and his terrorist bands.

The very idea of holding such a conference at Geneva, long renowned as a center of international negotiations, is a great boost to the basic strategy of the Malenkov regime, the strategy of expanding and exploiting differences among the democratic powers in order to weaken them and thus force them to grant Moscow more major concessions.

The Kremlin knows that the differences between the United States and its allies are most marked on the question of Communist China. By bringing Mao Tse-tung into these negotiations, right in the heart of Europe, Moscow has gained an additional opportunity to deepen the differences and divisions in the democratic camp, to widen the gap between America and her allies in respect to this most acute issue and the entire future of Asia.

No doubt the Russian and Chinese Communists will skillfully exploit the political atmosphere of Geneva for the purpose of carrying out the line laid down by Stalin at the Nineteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party—the line of sowing dissension and stimulating controversy and conflict in the ranks of the free world.

Another still unanswered question is: What will be the voting procedure in Geneva? Will there be voting by majority, two-thirds approval, or will each power have a veto right?

Very likely the talks on Korea will be a repetition of the Berlin debate on Germany. The Communists will be just as unwilling to agree to Korean *reunification in freedom* as they were in the case of Germany. Since South Korea will never accept a Lublin formula, and the Moscow-Peiping Axis can never accept a democratic election throughout Korea to create an all-Korean government, to unify the Korean people and assure their complete national sovereignty and independence, the Geneva negotiations will, in all probability, end in a deadlock as did the Berlin meeting on Germany.

The danger of appeasement is greater in relation to Indo-China. Due to the war-weariness of France and the reluctance of the French government to grant genuine independence to Indo-China, the present Paris regime might agree to setting up a so-called coalition government with Moscow’s Ho Chi Minh in order to end the Indo-Chinese war.

Any such concession to the Communist rebels would be the first step toward bringing all Indo-China into the Soviet orbit. Such a concession to Ho Chi Minh would dramatize the overwhelming supremacy of the Moscow-Peiping Axis in Asia. Southeast Asia would be in immediate peril—in the same peril that Czechoslovakia and the other small free nations were in Europe when Hitler hegemony was recognized and assured on the Continent

through his diplomatic machinations and military threats and adventures.

The Geneva Conference has led to speculations whether Communist China's participation would lead to recognition of the Mao Tse-tung regime. Let none be deceived by sophisms on *de jure* or *de facto* recognition or other fine legal points. The kind of invitation extended to Peiping, the status Mao Tse-tung's representatives will enjoy at Geneva, their participation in the talks on Indo-China, the preparatory build-up given to Communist China by Molotov—all these factors will contribute to make the Chinese Communists look respectable and help pave the way for admitting Communist China into the United Nations.

## VI

### *Results of the Berlin Conference*

The Berlin Conference produced no positive results in regard to German reunification or the Austrian State Treaty. However, it did serve one useful purpose. It clarified for many more people the actual position of the Malenkov regime regarding some of the most burning political problems of the day. Berlin showed that the much-ballyhooed "new look" of Russian policy simply does not exist. There has been no fundamental change in the Kremlin's aims. *Under Malenkov as under Stalin, Moscow's goal is world domination.* The more affable manners, now and then displayed by Molotov during the Berlin Conference, cannot hide Russia's unrelenting drive for world conquest. Actually, never before did Soviet totalitarianism disclose so fully, openly and brutally its worldwide imperialist program.

What are the international objectives which the Malenkov regime is now seeking to achieve? In Europe, its main effort is directed at the Sovietization of Germany. This was revealed by Molotov's proposals on German reunification. Since Moscow knows that, in view of the present power constellation, it cannot hope to attain this aim in the near future, it strives to maintain the next best position it can have—the *status quo at all costs*. The Soviets reject German reunification in freedom because free elections would mean the end of Moscow's satellite regime in Eastern Germany and the consequent loss of Communist Russia's advanced position and spearhead in Western Europe.

The situation in Austria is similar. Here withdrawal of Russian occupation troops would mean abandoning the important foothold Soviet imperialism has gained in Central Europe. Furthermore, evacuation of East Germany and the Soviet Zone in Austria would have dangerous repercussions in the "People's Democracies" and would further weaken their already badly shaken satellite regimes.

Moscow's program for "European security" is designed to weaken militarily the other free European countries by preventing E.D.C., removing the United States forces from the European continent and destroying NATO. Without the support of a strong and effective independent collective security system, the free countries of Europe

would be helpless in the face of the gigantic military machine of the Soviet Empire. Through putsches by Moscow's fifth columnists inside these countries or through threats of Soviet intervention from the outside, the remaining democratic nations would soon be turned into Communist satellites.

The Kremlin will spare no efforts to further these goals. In Germany, the Soviet rulers will go on pressing for collaboration between Bonn and the Communist East German regime. In Austria, the Soviets have already begun to reinforce their occupation authorities. In France and Italy they will step up the subversive activities of their fifth columnists. The Kremlin will try to prevent ratification of E.D.C. by all kinds of spurious promises as to future Soviet concessions in Europe and Asia and by playing on the fears of a return to power by German militarists and Nazis. At the same time the Kremlin and its lackeys will be courting the favor of these reactionary cliques in Germany.

The Soviets will intensify their hate campaign against the United States in order to divide the free nations. They will continue their "peace" propaganda in order to lull the West into a false sense of security. They will exploit the fear of atomic warfare in the West in order to fool its diplomats into accepting ineffective international atomic control. Extensive propaganda will be made in line with Malenkov's recent declaration that a new war with modern arms would mean "the destruction of world civilization." They will make seemingly "attractive trade offers" to a world which is afraid of a new depression.

In Asia, Moscow's paramount interest lies in strengthening Communist China, assuring Mao Tse-tung a greater role in Asian affairs (settlement of Korean and Indo-Chinese problems) and building up Communist China as a world power whose advice and cooperation should be sought not only in Asia but throughout the world. That is why Molotov proposed Communist China as an observer in the projected Soviet so-called security system for Europe. Toward this end, Moscow and Peiping strive to have more countries accord the Mao Tse-tung regime diplomatic recognition and support their demand for admission of Communist China into the United Nations. The Geneva Conference may be an important stepping-stone in that direction.

## VII

### *What Should Be the Policy of the West After Berlin?*

The cold war will continue with undiminished fury. Consequently, the democracies cannot afford to relax their vigilance or slacken their defense efforts. On the contrary, the democratic countries must spare no effort to strengthen their collective security systems in Europe, in the Near East and in Asia. This requires, above all, a most searching look at the "new look" of United States strategy. The political and military conceptions underlying this new American strategy should be reexamined and the economy measures based on it should be revised.

United States armed forces in Europe and Asia should be reinforced rather than withdrawn.

Should the E.D.C. not be ratified within a reasonable time limit (three-four months), another way should be found for the German Federal Republic to take part on a basis of full equality in the collective security system of free Europe. But whether E.D.C. is ratified or not, a political treaty should be immediately concluded with the Bonn government, according it full sovereignty in its domestic relations and complete independence and equality of treatment in its foreign relations. The Occupation Statute should be abolished. The occupation troops stationed in West Germany should have the same status which the American military personnel have at bases in other European countries.

The democracies should pursue their efforts to achieve German reunification in freedom. They should now try to achieve the so-called "little solution"—freedom of movement between the Soviet Zone and West Germany, measures for aiding Berlin, etc.—through arrangements between the four High Commissioners. They should resist Soviet attempts to smuggle the East-German Communist regime into such negotiations and arrangements.

West Berlin should be strengthened as a bulwark of the democratic world. Greater economic aid should be extended to free Berlin and its industry assisted through increased purchases of its products by the German Federal Republic, the free nations of Europe, the United States and Latin America.

More moral and material assistance should be given the resistance forces in the Soviet Zone. The campaign for the release of all political prisoners in East Germany should be intensified by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Refugees from behind the Iron Curtain should receive more generous and speedier help.

Obviously, American and other Western occupation contingents cannot be completely withdrawn from Austria as long as Soviet Russia maintains its armed forces in that country. However, the United States, France and Great Britain should negotiate an agreement with the Vienna government in order to ease occupation burdens to a minimum for the Austrian people.

Our government should be on guard against the danger of appeasement at the Geneva Conference. As Secretary Dulles did in regard to Germany, our delegation to the April 26 meeting must insist on full and genuine application of the principle of *free elections* in relation to Korea and Indo-China. *No compromise is possible on this central problem.* The freedom of the world depends on uncompromising loyalty to this basic principle of democracy. American refusal to grant Communist China diplomatic recognition and admission to the U.N. must under no circumstances become an object of bargaining at Geneva.

The United States should under proper conditions increase its aid to Indo-China. We cannot warn against the danger of appeasement connected with the negotiations and at the same time refuse or curtail American military help to the French Union forces fighting in

Indo-China, on the plea that America must avoid the risk of getting involved in that war. The United States government should, however, impress upon France the urgent need of granting, before the Geneva Conference begins, full independence to the three Associated States of Indo-China (Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam). Arrangements should be made for the genuine representation of these peoples at Geneva.

In this connection, our government would be well-advised to proclaim for the peoples of the Associated States of Indo-China—once they have been assured their national freedom and joined in full cooperation with France and the other democracies—a doctrine similar to the one proclaimed by President Truman in the effort to protect the independence of the Greek people. On this basis, our government should be prepared to send to Indo-China a military mission similar to the one so successfully headed by General Van Fleet in Greece.

## VIII

### Conclusion

We have full faith in the spiritual and material capacity of our country to provide the free world with the leadership humanity so urgently needs at this critical hour. In stressing this faith, we do not at all imply that our country and its institutions are perfect. We can never work too hard to make our country a better place in which to live, enjoy the fruits of freedom and labor, and work for the ever greater betterment and spiritual enrichment of our own people and all mankind.

In its position of world leadership, our country now bears many great responsibilities for the freedom, prosperity, peace and progress of mankind. Our labor movement, our other democratic institutions, our country as a whole and particularly the elected representatives of the people must realize that the eyes of the free and the subject peoples everywhere are upon us. Our aspirations and actions are bound to be slandered by our Communist and other totalitarian foes. We must expect this and take measures to counteract these slanders. We must also keep in mind that our ideals, ideas and interests—as the leading power in the democratic camp—are subject to constant scrutiny even by our allies and friends. We must not resent this scrutiny. We should welcome it and benefit from it.

This is no time for petty political partisanship or narrow group interests. This is certainly not the hour for employing unfair or unsound methods in the fight against Communist subversion of American institutions. Such methods will not destroy the Communist termites at home, nor deter or defeat the Soviet menace to world peace and freedom. Nor is this the hour for returning to the economics of the horse-and-buggy days with their theory of rugged individualism for the many.

In this light, I need only reaffirm what our last convention has so appropriately declared:

"Today no responsible American can afford to act in as carefree—let alone as careless—a manner as did his forebears. This is the price, this is the responsibility of world leadership."



# SHOW IS A SMASH HIT IN L.A.

**THE** 1954 edition of the world's greatest labor-management exposition, the American Federation of Labor's Union Label Industries Show, was a tremendous success. Southern California simply loved the colorful, exciting and educational event which was presented for a six-day run at the Pan-Pacific Auditorium in Los Angeles. Leaders of organized labor who had seen a number of earlier editions of the mammoth show agreed that this year's was one of the best.

William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, was on hand to open the new A. F. of L. exhibit, which graphically displayed the social and economic gains won by the Federation from 1881 to 1954 for the people of this nation. California's Governor Goodwin Knight and other notables took part in the opening ceremonies.

While some union and employer exhibits had more popular appeal than others, almost every exhibit attracted good-sized throngs throughout the show's run. No one who visited the show failed to learn—if he didn't know it before—that union services are the best services and union-labeled products are the best products. That was the message of the show. And the message was most effectively conveyed to the crowds.



Bricklaying contest attracted big crowds at the Union Industries Show

Glass blowing held throngs enraptured



A. F. of L.'s Secretary Schnitzler, a baker himself, tried leading the band and proved quite good at it



The great importance of registering and voting was stressed in timely display of Labor's League for Political Education



Small fry had a marvelous time on the carousel of the Retail Clerks

Each day Teamsters' Joint Council No. 42 gave away an expensive bicycle

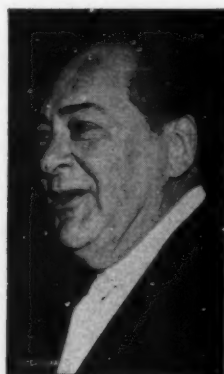


At postal employees' location there was interesting action all the time



The exhibit of the Carpenters was one of the major attractions

Label was pushed effectively by United Garment Workers



Among the scores of famous personalities who looked in was the popular Edward Arnold

Managers of show saw to it that there was no dearth of models

# EDITORIALS *by George Meany*

## *The Tax Bill*

**T**HE MOST devastating comment thus far on the "technical revisions" tax bill, now pending in the Senate after having been adopted by the House, comes from Senator Russell Long of Louisiana. He said on a recent television program:

"Never has a tax bill offered so much to so few and so little to so many."

The wealthy corporations and individual taxpayers of this country already have been the beneficiaries of considerable tax relief this year through the repeal of the excess profits tax and the reductions in personal income taxes.

But the tax bill now before the Senate proposes to go a lot further. It would permit corporations to write off the cost of new plants in a few years through higher depreciation allowances and it would provide lower tax rates on income received from stock dividends than on earned income. Only crumbs remain in this bill for the great mass of American taxpayers.

Where is the justice in such a tax policy? Why should those who can least afford to pay taxes have to make up what the government will lose from added relief to the wealthy? How can such a policy help to stimulate purchasing power and restore more prosperous conditions?

The only answer the proponents of this tax legislation have come up with is the discredited "trickle-down" theory. If Congress permits corporations to charge off the cost of building new plants against their taxes, maybe they will expand and create more jobs. If Congress provides special tax relief for coupon clippers, maybe they will reinvest their dividend income in more business enterprises. And maybe, if all these things happen, a little benefit will trickle down to the man in the street.

At any time, the trickle-down theory is offensive to the sense of decency and fair play that animates the American people. Right now it is ludicrous to believe that it is an adequate substitute for effective action to combat the recession.

If taxes can safely be reduced, the benefits should go to all American families but especially

to low-income families whose buying power counts most. This should be accomplished through higher personal tax exemptions and lower tax rates on low incomes. The money thus released is bound to stimulate sales, reduce inventories, revive production and open more job opportunities quickly, giving the national economy the equivalent of a shot in the arm.

Within a few weeks the issue will come up for a decisive vote in the Senate. This is the time to let your Senators know how you stand. If the members of the Senate know that the voters are aroused over this vital issue, they will respond to the will of the people and vote the kind of tax reduction that will do the most good for the most people and help to restore prosperity to the nation.

## *Social Security*

**C**ONGRESS is now getting around to consideration of legislation recommended by President Eisenhower to improve the social security system. The American Federation of Labor believes that the President's proposals for broader coverage and higher benefits point the way to definite, though modest, progress in the right direction.

Some of the enemies of social security were encouraged after the election of a Republican Administration to renew their attacks upon the basic insurance principle inherent in the present system. Their strategy was, in effect, to substitute a dole instead of the old age and survivors' insurance program contained in the law. Thus they hoped to destroy the entire system eventually.

The President has cut the ground out from under the United States Chamber of Commerce and others who aligned themselves with this effort. He has upheld unequivocally the insurance principle in our social security system. By so doing, the President has reinforced the reliance of the American people in the good faith of their government.

With some improvements, notably the inclusion of a new program of disability insurance, Congress should proceed to enact the President's recommendations promptly.



# THE FACTS ABOUT THE I.L.O.

By **GEORGE P. DELANEY**

*A. F. of L. International Representative*

ONE of the most frequent charges against the International Labor Organization deals with the political makeup of the delegations to the I.L.O.'s annual conferences and of the I.L.O. staff itself. The National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce have often alleged that the I.L.O. is "dominated by Socialists."

There can be no doubt that there are members of Socialist parties of one sort or another in attendance at I.L.O. meetings as delegates or advisers from their countries. Inasmuch as Socialist parties in many countries claim the allegiance of large portions of the population and many trade union movements have a Socialist tradition, this is necessarily the case in any international body which purports to be in any way representative and democratic in its procedures.

Neither the Socialists nor the reactionaries who attend meetings of the International Labor Organization dominate the proceedings. The majority of those having the right to vote are neither Socialists nor reactionaries. As with any organization which sticks in the main to a moderate course, both wings appear about equally critical of the final results.

As for the staff of the International Labor Organization, it would be very remarkable if, in an international secretariat recruited from many countries of the world, there were to be found only individuals who represented United States economic thinking. And it would be a very unsatisfactory arrangement if this were so, for the International Labor Organization must deal with peoples and conditions as they are, all over the world. And economic conditions and the thinking which flows from those conditions do not follow a pattern of uniformity throughout the world.

In choosing the I.L.O.'s staff, the Director-General is required to select men and women of different nationalities and geographical areas. They are chosen, in most cases, through com-

petitive examinations, not on the basis of their political affiliations. Each staff employe must take an oath of neutrality with respect to official business, and violations are exceptionally rare. If the staff has any blanket characteristics, it would be a common regard for the cause which the International Labor Organization serves.

Since some foreign trade unions have a long-time Socialist tradition, it is natural that some strong Socialists should be present in worker delegations from other countries—just as some violent reactionaries can be found among the employer delegations.

Employers have less cause to feel personally aggrieved or jeopardized by the character of some worker groups than workers have in regard to some individuals in the American employer delegation. These individuals are not above composing wild-eyed anti-I.L.O. propaganda diatribes for publication by such questionable outfits as Mervin K. Hart's "National Economic Council." They have delivered themselves of irresponsible distortions of the facts concerning the International Labor Organization before very influential groups, including Congress.

The United States is not engaged in any struggle with Socialist parties in other countries, whether they be out of power—as most of them are—or in power. It is not our privilege or right to tell citizens of other nations whom they should vote for, and the surest way to get the contrary result is to undertake to do so.

We are locked in a death struggle with Communist tyrants, not with Social Democrats. Many avowed Socialists in the labor movement abroad have been among our most effective and active allies in this struggle. They have rendered yeomen's service against communism at the levels where it really counts most—in the mines, mills and docks of the free world.

The trend in the non-Communist

labor movements abroad has been not toward closer ties to government but toward a recognition of the absolute necessity of maintaining the independence and integrity of their trade unions, free of domination or control by any government. This was officially recognized in a resolution adopted at the 1952 session of the International Labor Conference on the freedom and independence of trade unions. I believe the trend toward freedom has been at least partially the product of the example, the exchange of views and experience, and the moral support which the American labor movement has given the non-Communist unions abroad through the I.L.O. as well as through other avenues.

SURELY there are differences in philosophy and outlook between American trade unions and those in Europe and other areas. We lean more toward the achievement of economic progress through the instrument of free collective bargaining; they favor more extensive use of the devices of legislation and regulation.

To many new delegates and advisers to I.L.O. conferences from the United States, this fact of long standing comes with all the shock of something new and unfamiliar, leading them often to alarming, sweeping and unjustified conclusions. American employers particularly are prone to develop a "barricade complex."

These matters must be viewed in perspective. Attitudes are conditioned by experience as trees are judged by their fruits. If free enterprise is to take credit for the wealth of one country, it cannot hope to avoid a share of the credit for poverty in another—where it has also had ample opportunity to perform.

The fact must not be overlooked that most of the nations of the world arrived at their present estates following the operation of generations, not of socialism, which is relatively new in history, but of their own particular variants (Continued on Page 26)



*Union meetings at which members are urged to speak their minds were unknown in the old I.L.A. days*

ON FEBRUARY 3, 1953, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor ordered the International Longshoremen's Association to clean its filthy house or face expulsion. The Council issued its order after it had given thorough consideration to disclosures of "highly irregular and objectionable" practices of I.L.A. officers in the Port of New York. These practices included crime, corruption, racketeering—and brutal exploitation of the rank-and-file membership of the union by the crooks and gangsters in control.

The I.L.A. failed to heed the order of the Executive Council. Because of its non-compliance, the union was thrown out of the American Federation of Labor by action of the annual convention, held in St. Louis last September.

The American Federation of Labor promptly chartered a new union to serve and protect the working longshoremen in the manner that American trade unionists have every right to be served and protected. The working longshoremen had not been so served and had not been so protected by the old I.L.A. Instead of serving and protecting the workers, the old I.L.A. had squeezed and whipped and robbed them.

In the old I.L.A. there had been no signs of trade union democracy or legitimate trade union activity. The working longshoreman in the

## *Democracy's Ways Are Brought to the Longshoremen in the Port of New York*

*In classes dock workers are learning democratic union procedures*





*Happy members at a branch office of new union. Branches are located in every segment of the port*

Port of New York was not a free man but a slave. Local unions of the old I.L.A. either held no meetings at all or held them at intervals of many months—and if a meeting was held, any member who even attempted to speak up placed his life in jeopardy. The racketeers gave favored treatment to their cronies and collected kickbacks and bribes. The typical working longshoreman in the Port of New York, in the days of the old I.L.A., was denied the elementary rights and privileges of American wage-earners and trade union members.

That's the way things used to be in the Port of New York. But not any more. The new American Federation of Labor union, in a little more than six months, has produced a miracle on the New York waterfront. Longshoremen who used to be afraid to utter a word are no longer afraid. Longshoremen who had never seen democratic trade unionism in operation now belong to a union that is completely democratic. Under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, they are building a new union, a clean and healthy union—a union of and for the working longshoremen and run by the working longshoremen.

The working longshoremen in the Port of New York have not neglected the opportunity given them by the American Federation of Labor. They are establishing decent, democratic trade unionism on the waterfront. They have shaken off their fear of the gangsters who formerly exploited them. Their new union is growing stronger day by day. And these thousands of workingmen who only last year were terrorized, demoralized slaves abused by thugs are today free and unafraid Americans—dignified, self-respecting American wage-earners who are holding their heads high.



*Dock workers' spirits are lifted by new free unionism*

*A. F. of L.'s new union is prompt in delivery of welfare checks*





# SHOE WORKERS' PROGRESS

By JOHN J. MARA

*President, Boot and Shoe Workers Union*

**T**HE Boot and Shoe Workers Union was formed in Boston on April 10, 1895, and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor on November 9 of the same year. The union has been affiliated, without interruption, ever since.

The shoe workers were divided at that time into several organizations. At a joint meeting of representatives of several unions, John F. Tobin was elected to lead the new organization, which was named the Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

Since its inception, our union has strongly advocated arbitration of any disputes or differences of opinion that could not be settled by mutual agreement. That policy has been practiced all through the years. Strikes are used only as a last resort when, at times, some employers decline to arbitrate. On occasions of that nature we have no alternative.

The Boot and Shoe Workers Union has many problems. Among them is the division in the ranks of labor. Our membership has been raided during the last two decades, with the resultant loss of thousands of members, in Chicago, Greater New York, Haverhill (Massachusetts), Portsmouth (Ohio) and other shoe centers. Some of these raids we were able to resist successfully, but in doing so we were forced to spend thousands of dollars which could have been used in efforts to organize the industry's non-union wage-earners. At the present time just about 50 per cent of the production workers, totaling about 220,000, are organized.

The shoe workers' unions are among the few groups which did not take advantage of the organizing opportunities given workers under the Wagner Act. Instead of working together in the organizing field, they proceeded to raid each other. Charges and countercharges were hurled, and when elections were held there were two or three different unions fighting each other for the right to represent the workers. As a result, in many



MR. MARA

elections the workers voted against union representation.

At the present time two unions in the shoe industry are doing something which should have been done twenty years ago. Our organization, the A. F. of L. Boot and Shoe Workers Union, and the United Shoe Workers of the C.I.O. have been working under a "no-raiding" pact which was agreed to on March 5, 1952, in a conference at St. Louis. It might be termed a "gentlemen's agreement" because no formal agreement was actually signed.

Since that time we have held joint meetings and conferences, and there have not been any differences of opinion or disputes between the international officers or local union officers of the two organizations. It is the intention and desire of the officers of both unions to continue in this way in the hope that better things and greater results will follow.

Our working together has proved that neither union can obtain satisfactory results on an industry-wide scale working alone. As an example, last autumn both unions negotiated as one with two of the so-called "giants" of the shoe industry—the Brown Shoe Company of St. Louis, which owns and operates about sixty shoe manufacturing plants, and the International

Shoe Company, also of St. Louis, with about seventy-five plants.

During the negotiations efforts were made to create friction between the two unions, but all stories and rumors were disregarded. Before a settlement was finally reached, a strike vote was taken among the workers involved, and the results of that vote gave the officers of both unions the encouragement they needed to fight to the last ditch to get the kind of settlement the workers wanted and deserved.

We obtained in that settlement something that both unions had sought for more than fifteen years. We succeeded in having both companies sign modified union shop contracts. When the contracts expire in the fall of 1955, we will insist upon "all union" contracts without any strings attached.

In the negotiations with Brown Shoe and International Shoe we obtained health and welfare benefits, sick benefits of \$25 per week for a maximum of thirteen weeks, \$8 per day hospital benefit for a maximum of thirty-one days, together with surgical and medical benefits, six paid holidays, one week's paid vacation for one-year employees, two weeks for five years and three weeks for fifteen years or more.

All of this was accomplished because, instead of fighting each other as in the past, we bargained shoulder to shoulder. Our efforts were rewarded with success.

Despite the fact that we had demonstrated that we did not need a signed no-raiding pact, both the Boot and Shoe Workers Union of the A. F. of L. and the United Shoe Workers of the C.I.O. have signed the no-raiding agreement adopted and recommended by the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. to show that our efforts to unify the ranks of labor are sincere.

The task of organizing shoe workers is a difficult one. Shoe factories are scattered all over the United States, many in smaller towns where

local merchants and civic-minded citizens raised funds to build modern factories which eventually become the property of the shoe manufacturing companies.

In these smaller towns the labor supply is usually adequate because, when the boys and girls finish high school, there is usually just one place to find work and that is in the shoe factory.

Then, too, in recent years there has been a race among several large shoe manufacturing companies to gobble up smaller companies, especially those having well-known retail outlets. If this trend continues, we could have a condition in this country where six or seven large companies are manufacturing all the shoes normally needed for the consumers.

The members of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union would greatly appreciate cooperation from the members of other unions. We would suggest that you look at the shoes you are now wearing to see if the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union is stamped in the inner sole or lining.

Shoes made by union shoe workers do not cost any more than those made by non-union workers. The only difference is that a non-union employer, in most instances, pays less for labor and then pockets the savings himself; but the retail prices are about the same on all grades, whether they sell for \$10 or \$30. Union workers in other fields expect the union shoe workers to patronize their union labels and services. In fairness, they should reciprocate by buying only footwear bearing the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

When a new member is accepted into the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, he or she is required to obligate himself to purchase only union-labeled goods and union services. Our members have been educated to live up to that pledge. We believe other trade unionists, in turn, should insist upon having our union label in the shoes they purchase for themselves and members of their families. We maintain that there is no valid excuse for any loyal trade unionist to fail to wear union-labeled shoes.

The Boot and Shoe Workers Union all through the years has cooperated with other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, contributing thousands of dollars to help some of the organizations



*The author (left) tells group the many merits of labeled footwear*

when they were in financial distress because of strikes and lockouts. We were glad to help and will do it again. All we ask in return is moral assistance by demanding the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union when buying shoes.

In the old days it was a difficult assignment to buy a pair of men's shoes without the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. That was when the vast majority of men's shoes were made in New England. A similar condition can prevail again if the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. get together and iron out jurisdictional problems so that we can have one united labor movement in this great country of ours. That would mean one big union of shoe workers and an abundance of union-labeled shoes.

In this country we have almost everything we need except a unified

labor movement, and we can have that if the leaders will look at the problem solely in the light of the greatest good for the greatest number. The workers have been divided since about 1935 when the C.I.O. was formed, and the so-called "rank and file" employees are getting tired of the situation. We of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union are more than willing to do our part to bring about unity in the organized labor movement.

To all who have consistently bought union-labeled shoes, our sincere thanks and appreciation. If you are one of those who have not, we humbly request that you start with your next pair and continue thereafter to follow that course, spending your union-earned money only on union products and union services. And if you do, all of us will be very happy.

## **Who's Who in Communist China**

**A Study of Russian Domination**

**15 Cents**

**Order from A. F. of L. Free Trade Union Committee  
Box 65, Radio City Station, New York 19, N. Y.**

## **Dan Tracy To Be I.B.E.W. President Emeritus**

**T**HE International Executive Council of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, taking its action with the utmost regret, last month accepted the resignation submitted by D. W. Tracy, president of the I.B.E.W. The resignation was due to become effective April 15. The union's Executive Council moved immediately to make Mr. Tracy president emeritus. He is a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

In his letter to the International Executive Council, which was in session at the time at Miami Beach, Mr. Tracy said:

"After forty-three years of labor in the cause of our Brotherhood, thirty-four of those years as a member of the international staff, including more than fourteen years as international president, I feel the time has come for me to announce my decision to seek retirement."

Born at Bloomington, Illinois, Brother Tracy joined the I.B.E.W. in Houston, Texas, in 1913. Subsequently he was elected business manager of Local 716, Houston, and then international vice-president. In 1933 he became president of the Brotherhood, serving in that capacity



*Having led union most successfully, D. W. Tracy has decided to retire*

until 1940 when President Roosevelt called upon him to be Assistant Secretary of Labor. In 1946, the war having been won, Mr. Tracy was elected to resume his office as president of the union.

Since 1947 the Electrical Workers, under Mr. Tracy's leadership, have increased their membership to an all-time peak of more than 600,000. As noted in his letter of resignation, the union is now in excellent condition financially and every other way.

J. Scott Milne, who has been serving as secretary of the I.B.E.W., will be the new president of the union. Joseph D. Keenan, secretary of the Building and Construction Trades Department and former director of Labor's League for Political Education, will take Mr. Milne's place as secretary of the organization.



### **NEW OFFICERS**

J. Scott Milne (left) who has been serving as secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, will succeed Mr. Tracy as president when the latter becomes president emeritus. Joseph D. Keenan (right) will become secretary.





# TO STRENGTHEN NATO

By IRVING BROWN

*A. F. of L. Representative in Europe*

FIVE years ago the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was born. NATO resulted originally from the violent consequences of Soviet "leftist" policy which evolved first into indirect aggression, as in Czechoslovakia, and then into direct aggression through the Korean and Chinese satellites.

With the fear of further Communist aggression in other parts of the world, especially in Europe, both Western Europe and the United States were quickly pushed into a policy of defensive rearmament on a national and intercontinental scale taking its concrete form in NATO.

The period from 1950 up until recently was primarily one of emphasis upon military and industrial rearmament. The economic and social factors were considered and given due attention only as a secondary and contributory factor to the question of whether or how much rearmament could be achieved. The consideration of economic and social factors was important only in terms of the military needs of the Western world. The quick build-up of adequate defenses against what was considered an immediate danger of aggression by the Soviet Union was decisive.

Since the achievement of the Korean "peace," there is a swing toward a policy which deemphasizes the urgency of military factors. As a consequence, there is a danger that NATO will cease to play a role in the formulation of Western international policy. This danger has been further heightened by the recent Soviet maneuver to enter NATO in order to neutralize and paralyze all Atlantic Community operations.

The "new look" Soviet policy still includes indirect aggression or what is more popularly termed the cold war. This policy obviously emphasizes, as distinct from open military forms of war, the economic, social and political aspects of modern warfare between the Soviet world and the West.

While this policy permits the Soviets to gain time through consolidation inside Russia and the satellites and in its relationships with China, the Cominform (or whatever instrument or agency takes its place) never swerves from the basic aim of Soviet world domination.

This includes, if necessary, the eventual preparation for actual warfare in its extreme military form. In fact, those economic and social measures being considered and propagandized now in Russia and the satellite nations to improve the standard of living are not contradictory with an eventual war policy. At this stage of Soviet development such programs complement the perfecting of an industrial war machine in the Soviet Union. The present leaders of Communist Russia feel that a social program may win them the people's support in time of crisis or actual war.

The Soviet "new look," therefore, imposes new problems and tasks on the West. A re-examination and reformulation of the West's strategy and tactics are now required in order to meet this new form of Soviet challenge. It would be a serious mistake merely to repeat the lyrics and music of the period of direct Soviet aggression.

The various types of political warfare developed by Soviet front organizations, especially in the field of labor and mass organizations, have become predominant in the Soviets' master strategy as contrasted to the former days of open aggression.

To meet the Kremlin's new policy on the international or intercontinental level, Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty should be implemented. This article reads as follows:

"The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of sta-

bility and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them."

The terms of Article 2 have never been carried out into practice. They have remained on paper and at best a series of pious wishes.

In the days of 1950 and 1951 the "wise men" worked out an economic program which could guide the military in terms of its targets. Today more than ever it becomes necessary for the exact reverse. NATO must become an important instrument of Western planning and policy-making as regards the political, economic and social factors, while retaining and, if possible, expanding the strength of its military arm.

Such an approach to the problems of international policy would have a direct and immediate effect upon the whole question of the role of the organized labor movement in NATO.

Up to the present the free international trade union movement, as represented by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its national affiliates in the Western world especially, have taken a clear-cut position in defense of NATO. This has been done despite the fact that a satisfactory set of working relationships, which would have permitted labor to become more active in the popularization of the objectives of NATO, has never been worked out.

In spite of these differences, the urgency of aggression and the needs of rearmament were such that no one felt the compulsion to push these issues to any serious point of conflict or to withhold wholehearted support.

It is my belief that this is no longer true and that we will face a period in which labor will play absolutely no role at all even in the negative sense of defending NATO. If NATO is to remain a living organization and become even more alive to the needs of our times, I believe that it is essential that (Continued on Page 27)

# Labor Education in IOWA

By JOHN E. COSGROVE

*Director, Education and Research,  
Iowa State Federation of Labor*

**H**OW do you start a statewide labor education program? That was the question faced by the Iowa State Federation of Labor, in early 1951, when it decided that a workers' education program was a necessary service to affiliated organizations. Why and how such a program was undertaken might well be of interest to other American Federation of Labor organizations, and so this story is told. Iowa's program is, probably, neither the best nor the worst of the A. F. of L. state programs. Its problems were typical of many. Therefore, the solution—insofar as one has been found—may be useful to other groups.

The Executive Board of the Iowa State Federation of Labor was faced with wide problems in 1951. The state was in its fourth year under the so-called "right-to-work" law and had not grown appreciably in union membership since 1947. With a seriously mal-apportioned Legislature, there was small hope of repealing or amending the state anti-labor laws and little hope of improving the unemployment insurance or workmen's compensation statutes.

It was felt that we needed (1) public education and (2) membership education. To accomplish its objectives and to provide effective research facilities for affiliated organizations on state problems, the new position of Director of Education and Research was established. Of course, it was realized that education could not solve all of the I.S.F.L.'s problems, but it was thought that the program would assist the solution.

Initiation by the I.S.F.L. Executive Board assured the program of the constant and unfailing cooperation of the I.S.F.L.'s executive officers and the Executive Board. This caliber of cooperation is a first prerequisite to any successful program.

With an educational director having been hired, the first steps in the



*Trade unionists are given the opportunity to learn about labor laws and many other subjects of importance to wage-earners*



program were to define the needs clearly and to survey the resources.

We will not here discuss the program of public education or public relations that was adopted, save to mention that it included offers of speakers to all of Iowa's senior colleges and universities (the great majority of which accepted and presented the speaker to general assem-

blies of students), supplying of educational literature to college and public libraries, and providing representation on television and radio discussions. Neither do we set out here the research work accomplished.

Resources included a new Bureau of Labor and Management at the State University of Iowa, part of the duty of which was workers' education, but

which had not then undertaken any labor education programs. In addition, there were the public libraries and colleges in every major city—only one of which (St. Ambrose College in Davenport) has any real labor school.

These limited resources had to be used to serve approximately 145,000 American Federation of Labor members in eighteen state trade councils, eighteen city central labor unions, nine city trade councils and 1,000 local unions. It was apparent that most of the workers' education program would have to be conducted directly by and through the State Federation of Labor—even had we not thought, as we did, that this was the best procedure.

The first step was to urge generally that all affiliated organizations establish Education Committees. Most unions had committees on paper. The job was to activate them under the chairmanship of the best possible leader in the craft or city. The next step was to turn to the Workers Education Bureau of the American Federation of Labor for assistance. The W.E.B.'s advice and cooperation were the second indispensable ingredient of the program. Director John D. Connors and his assistants in the Workers Education Bureau gave unstinting aid to the new program.

The present program in Iowa includes three main features: (1) an annual Labor Short Course, (2) weekend labor institutes, and (3) a central body education program.

The Labor Short Course, held in June, is sponsored by the State Federation of Labor at the State University of Iowa at Iowa City, in cooperation with the University's Bureau of Labor and Management. The Bureau, under Director Karl Leib, assists with the physical aspects of the course, advises in the planning of the program and provides university staff where needed. The Bureau's cooperation is excellent. The Labor-Management Bureau undertook the job after a conference between President Ray Mills of the State Federation of Labor, President Virgil Hancher of the State University of Iowa, the Bureau director and this writer.

It was found that, through the cooperation of the Workers Education Bureau, the best of authorities from organized labor, government and the



*Students eagerly collect labor pamphlets and other literature*

academic world could be obtained to teach at the Labor Short Course, most serving without fee. These speakers covered a wide range of subjects, from National Labor Relations Board procedure and state labor laws through public relations and world affairs. The response from the students has been enthusiastic, and their criticism sheets—completed at the close of the course—have guided the planning in subsequent courses.

Many of the students are full-time union representatives, though some rank-and-file members attend. A higher percentage of central labor unions and state trade councils are represented than are locals, which is as anticipated. The cost, \$50 for the five-day course, covers board, room, tuition and registration. Since the university is located near the center of Iowa's labor movement, transportation by the individual participants is a small item. For those who come from the two central bodies within thirty miles, the fee is only \$35 if they room at home. Experience indicates that the fees can be reduced somewhat in the future, unless new expenses arise.

While the first two Labor Short Courses were primarily lecture-discussion in form, we now use panel discussions and workshop techniques as a variation. Experimentation with various forms is always possible and usually desirable.

Attendance averages thirty-five

men and women, excluding foreign trade unionists who now take part in the program as a regular feature. The importance of having foreign trade unionists attend cannot be overemphasized. Both they and the American unionist benefit from the acquaintance. Under no circumstances could those attending exceed forty without a major overhaul of the form of the program.

The second part of the over-all program, the Weekend Labor Institutes, was begun in November of 1952 in an effort to bring the education opportunities nearer the rank-and-file member. The Labor Short Course, by its nature, must have a rather limited participation, numerically. The Weekend Labor Institutes bring the program to each city.

The program, running from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. on Saturdays, is co-sponsored by the State Federation of Labor and the individual central labor unions. The program is drawn by the State Federation, but it is largely implemented by the local A. F. of L. movement. Attendance is open to all A. F. of L. men and women, whether or not their local unions are affiliated with the central labor union or the State Federation of Labor.

Though the Weekend Labor Institutes vary in content, a typical program covers each of the following in one and one-half hour periods: History of Labor and Labor Law, Unemployment (Continued on Page 30)



# Texas' Growing Strength

By WILLIAM J. HARRIS and JERRY R. HOLLEMAN  
*President and Secretary, Respectively, Texas State Federation of Labor*

**T**HE past two years have been eventful ones for Texas labor.

The Texas State Federation of Labor has been gaining strength steadily through new affiliates, new and expanding organization and more interest than ever before in developing a unified A. F. of L. movement in Texas. The period was marked by success in blocking new anti-labor legislation in the Legislature, by national attention given a State Federation study of the wetback problem, by growing interest and participation in political education, and by the launching of a workers' educational program.

Much of the credit for this growth and success goes to Paul C. Sparks, a member of Houston Carpenters, Local 213, who became the executive secretary of the State Federation of Labor in 1949. When Brother Sparks submitted his resignation, effective last November, in order to enter private employment, he left behind him an active, progressive organization into which he had instilled new vim. The Executive Board regretfully accepted his resignation.

To succeed Brother Sparks, the Executive Board elected one of the two writers of this article, Jerry R. Holleman, a member of Lubbock Electrical Workers, Local 850, who had been Federation field representative since January, 1950. We intend to carry on and expand the excellent programs launched by Brother Sparks.

One of the crucial tests faced by the Texas State Federation of Labor in the last two years occurred during the 1953 regular session of the Legislature. Two bills which would have done serious damage to working people were introduced. One bill was aimed at drastic curtailment of the workmen's compensation insurance program. The other was intended to deny working people unemployment insurance under certain circumstances, even though they were out of work through no fault of their own.

The Texas Manufacturers Association and a number of insurance com-



MR. HARRIS

panies tried their best to shove through the bill cutting down on workmen's compensation. But legislative friends of working people kept the measure from ever reaching the floor of the House for consideration. The other bill was passed by the House after opponents had succeeded in amending it into what was believed to be safe form. Behind the scenes, however, some legislative trickery removed the good amendment, and the bill went to the Senate. It was only by the heroic efforts of a few good Senators that the bill was blocked in the upper house.

As this is written, Texas labor is involved in a special session of the Legislature called by Governor Allan Shivers primarily to consider a pay increase for Texas school teachers. But the Legislature also has before it a dangerous bill setting up a "Loyalty Review Board," which could easily be used to fight the labor movement in Texas under the false front of hunting subversives. A recent investigation of communism in Texas by the Texas Industrial Commission, of which President Harris was a member, failed to uncover a single Communist in the

bonafide Texas labor movement, but the Commission, over President Harris' objections, still recommended setting up the "Loyalty Review Board."

While the contention is made that the Board is not aimed at labor unions, the *Dallas Morning News* undoubtedly was correct when it declared:

"It is improbable that the Industrial Commission envisions a review board for anything except union leadership."

Labor's opposition to this bill has drawn support from many quarters, including such conservative newspapers as the *Houston Post*, the *Dallas Morning News* and the *San Antonio Express*. We hope that the bill can be blocked, but in this hysterical era that task is bound to be difficult.

The numerical and affiliated organization strength of the State Federation of Labor has grown steadily. At the 1953 convention Secretary Sparks was able to report seventy-eight new affiliations during the previous year. Already in this fiscal year, which began June 1, 1953, we have acquired fifty-two new affiliations. We hope to have a year's total of at least 100 new affiliates by the time of the convention next June at Corpus Christi.

In this connection the writers want to give due credit to the members of the Executive Board who are driving hard for new affiliations in their respective districts and to H. S. (Hank) Brown, field representative of the State Federation of Labor, who is devoting part of his time to the job of getting all A. F. of L. locals in Texas affiliated with the Federation. Brother Brown, of San Antonio Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, Local 142, took over the field representative's position when Holleman became executive secretary.

One of the highlights of State Federation activity in recent months was the publication of "What Price Wetbacks?" This work, a study of the wetback problem, was started by former Secretary Sparks and carried forward in cooperation with the

American GI Forum of Texas, a veterans' organization composed primarily of veterans of Mexican descent. Publication of "What Price Wetbacks?" was carried through to completion under the direction of Secretary Holleman.

Field investigation and research work were performed for many months by a survey team of two men. The results of that survey, together with many pictures of wetback and bracero living and working conditions, were compiled and published by the State Federation of Labor and the GI Forum, with John McCully, the Federation's public relations representative, handling the writing and publication work.

"What Price Wetbacks?" has received nationwide attention. The study of the wetback and his effect on sanitary conditions, economic problems, living and working conditions has had a great impact in awakening the American people to the danger of the wetback flood. Distribution of the book still is under way. We hope that it will reach many thousands more people who need to find out just what the open U.S.-Mexican border means.

In the field of political education and activity, we wish that we could report greater accomplishments, but we can at least report increasing awareness among the membership of the importance of politics. In some areas active L.L.P.E. organizations are at work, but in too many others there is great difficulty in arousing members to the seriousness of the task.

In a one-party state such as Texas, we ordinarily must concentrate all of our efforts and work in the Democratic primaries, after we get the basic job done before the end of January by getting union members and their friends to pay their poll taxes. In the 1952 elections, however, we had the unusual experience of seeing Texas become a two-party state, at least temporarily. The split was only at the national level, with Governor Shivers, Senator Price Daniel and many others who had received honors at the hands of the Democratic Party leading the campaign for General Eisenhower.

They were successful largely because of a law permitting cross-filing of Democrats by the Republicans, a device which has come back to haunt those who used it now that Texas is

once again pretty much a one-party state. Efforts to keep the party bolters who went Republican in 1952 in the Republican Party have been to no avail. They now are filtering back into the Democratic Party, and our present battle is to keep them from once again taking it over.

This year our main attention politically will be focused on the primaries with their important races for Congress and the Texas Legislature. Texas, with twenty-two members of Congress on the Democratic ticket, actually has only six members who vote Democratic—or friendly to working people—more than they do Republican. It is to be earnestly hoped that these six are returned to Congress, together with some additional members from districts where reactionary Congressmen are masquerading under the Democratic label.

The last Legislature was fairly evenly divided between legislators voting for the people's interest and legislators voting the way the Texas Manufacturers Association wanted them to vote. The T.M.A., incidentally, conveniently published a voting record of the Legislature, classifying members as liberal or conservative. This record serves as a ready reckoning chart for union members in judging the qualifications of legislative candidates.

For the last three years the Texas State Federation of Labor has carried on broad public relations programs. This year it is expanding more into the field of direct workers' education. In 1953 and again this year representatives of Texas A. F. of L. unions and the State Federation of Labor attended the Southern A. F. of L. Labor School, the first in Florida and the

second in Oklahoma. Only last month we held our first Texas A. F. of L. Labor School in Mineral Wells under the sponsorship of the State Federation. More than 100 student-delegates from all over the state registered for the three days of intensified training. Fields covered included labor law, labor history, workers' education, collective bargaining techniques, legislation, political education and public relations.

The enthusiastic response of those who attended this first Texas school indicated the need for a continuing and expanding educational program. It will be provided.

Texas still has some of the worst and most unfair anti-labor laws in the nation, laws which our legal counselors have been busily attacking through the courts ever since their enactment. Some progress has been made under the guidance of Nat Wells, Jr., member of the Dallas law firm of Mullinax and Wells. The fight will continue, in the Legislature and in the courts, so long as the unfair laws are on the books.

Numerically, politically, educationally, the American Federation of Labor movement of Texas has much more strength today than ever before, but plenty of problems remain. As Texas expands industrially and in population, we are confident that membership in A. F. of L. unions in the Lone Star State likewise will increase. Our job is to see to it that the workers in both the older locals and the newer locals are active union members and that their locals affiliate with the State Federation of Labor in order to achieve the A. F. of L. labor unity we need. We think we are on our way to getting the job done.



Secretary Holleman (center) confers with two Federation aides

# The Facts About the I.L.O.

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on capitalism—and their experience under it has not been so generally favorable as has ours. The people of our nation favor free enterprise because it has performed favorably and has produced abundance. What are the people of those nations which, under their brand of capitalism, have known only the extremes of poverty for the many and wealth for the few—what are they expected to think about it?

We must deal with the world as it is, not as we would have it. In many parts of the world today men are hungry, ill-housed and ill-clad, overworked and underpaid—men who have worked not for the government but for free, private employers all their lives. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that many do not look upon private employers as their benefactors but as their oppressors. To say to peoples such as these, when they ask for relief from poverty, that they must leave it to free enterprise is to offer them a brand of “pie in the sky” hardly less remote than that which the Socialists have to sell.

If European workers seem to us perhaps too much inclined to look to legislation for succor or to follow narrow restrictive trade union policies, it must be recognized that they are but following examples and precedents laid down long before by their employers. And American employers who loudly deplore the trend to legislation and regulation abroad yet vigorously affirm the need for a Taft-Hartley Act at home are guilty of a pious hypocrisy which comes with little grace and persuades no one abroad.

The question before the International Labor Organization is not that of free enterprise or not but *the conditions under which free enterprise can work*. Economic freedom has no meaning to the oppressed and the depressed until their conditions are elevated at least to basic minimum standards. Nor are workers anywhere truly free unless they have equal and effective freedom, on a par with their employers, to extend or to withhold that which they have to sell—their labor.

Free enterprise, in its fullest sense, does not exist unless freedom of cor-

porate action is accompanied by freedom of trade union action. When and where these conditions exist in fact instead of being mere theory, free corporate enterprise will be the stronger for it, for it will find acceptance and support among workers as well as management.

Both the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce have been critical of the I.L.O.'s industrial committees. In view of their criticism, it would be well to throw some light on the structure and functions of these committees.

Industrial committees were set up to further the aims of the International Labor Organization as a whole. These aims are laid down in the I.L.O.'s constitution, which has been accepted by the United States. Many of the original purposes of the I.L.O., as set after the First World War, were inspired by Sam Gompers, whose influence in the drafting of the I.L.O. constitution was significant.

The aims of the industrial committees are, broadly, to bring about improvements in their respective industries and to add to the over-all effort of the I.L.O. in favor of social progress and world peace.

There is no need to fear excessive socializing influence. The general aims, such as the improvement of the standard of living, full employment, recognition of the right of collective bargaining and decent conditions of employment are widely accepted. It is for each member state to consider how far the conclusions reached by the I.L.O.'s industrial committees can be applied in its country. How they are applied depends on the customary practices of each country.

Industrial committees are just one of the kind of bodies through which the aims of the I.L.O., as accepted by all member states, can be furthered. They have these advantages:

(1) They are able to deal with matters from the point of view of a given industry, bearing the problems of that industry in mind.

(2) They enable matters to be brought directly to the notice of those concerned with particular industries.

(3) They are able to deal with matters which can be applied by agreement between the employers and

workers concerned, or even in some cases by the employers on their own, without bringing in the machinery of government, as is necessarily the case when an international labor convention is ratified.

Open discussions through bodies such as the industrial committees are a good way of dissipating grievances which, if not heard out, may work up sentiment and prejudice to the point of direct action.

The conclusions reached by industrial committees are no more than suggestions for the guidance of employers and workers and their organizations, and, where appropriate, governments. They are not binding. They do not necessarily involve legislation, and most of them do not suggest any. They do not interfere with the ordinary process of collective bargaining.

The guidance given to those engaged in determining conditions of employment, by collective bargaining or otherwise, is of particular importance to organizations in economically underdeveloped countries. It is these countries, rather than the highly industrialized, which are likely to be most influenced, in the long run, by the conclusions of the industrial committees. The United States, Britain and the countries of Western Europe tend more to influence the committees



Every citizen ought to vote on Election Day. That's very true. And when we vote, it's much better to elect good candidates than to see inferior ones triumph. To help elect good candidates, support Labor's League. Give \$1 today to join the League. You can't possibly make a finer investment. Won't you act today to get behind I.L.P.E.?



than to be influenced by them. In replying to allegations that I.L.O. conventions may interfere with domestic matters in this country and that they represent a threat to states' rights, I must emphasize that the United States has no obligation whatsoever to ratify any I.L.O. convention. Any action taken by the United States with reference to an I.L.O. convention must be taken freely and voluntarily. There is no compulsion to act. As to states' rights, I must emphasize that the I.L.O. constitution itself has amply provided for full protection of states' rights and fully recognizes the federal-state relationship in the United States.

(The American Bar Association adopted a resolution a few years ago in which it stated that "the participation of the U.S. in international measures for the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms should be provided for within a framework similar to that of the I.L.O. This resolution was adopted as a result of a committee report which stated that "if the subject of human rights and freedoms of the world under the United Nations Charter is to be pressed in the current state of conflicting and confused ideologies, the best approach would be by way of the procedure followed by the I.L.O. rather than by way of legally binding multi-partite treaties."

I.L.O. conventions which may be

freely ratified by the U.S. do not ultimately become domestic law in the United States. This can best be illustrated by the fact that the U.S. Senate, in the summer of 1952, gave its advice and consent to the ratification of three maritime conventions. These conventions have not been ratified by the President because the necessary domestic legislation to comply with their provisions has not been enacted. The ratification of these conventions would not of itself put the provisions of the conventions into effect domestically. These conventions, therefore, will not be ratified unless the necessary domestic legislation is enacted by Congress.

It has been frequently charged that our government's two delegates to the I.L.O. have been representative primarily of American labor. Since I have been associated with the work of the I.L.O. the government delegates from the United States have been composed of one representative of the Department of Labor and a member of the United States Senate or House of Representatives. What is more important, the instructions to the government delegates are formulated as a result of consultations between interdepartmental committees representing the Departments of State, Labor, Commerce, Agriculture, Interior and on some occasions Justice or other agencies which may have a pertinent in-

terest in a particular item under consideration by an I.L.O. conference. The United States government delegates have in every sense represented the American public rather than any particular segment of American society.)

The following is a list of the U.S. government delegates for the last nine I.L.O. conferences:

- 1946, Henry Jackson and Schwellenbach.
- 1946, Elbert Thomas and David Morse.
- 1947, Thomas and Morse.
- 1948, Thomas and Morse.
- 1949, O'Connor and Kaiser.
- 1950, O'Connor and Kaiser.
- 1951, Murray and Kaiser.
- 1952, Murray and Kaiser.
- 1953, Ives and Kaiser.

Certainly no one would say that these distinguished representatives of the United States government could possibly represent other than the point of view of the American public.

The American Federation of Labor completely endorses and supports the programs and objectives of the International Labor Organization and recognizes it as an organization which contributes to lasting peace. The A. F. of L. further recognizes the I.L.O.'s usefulness in combating the spread of communism and totalitarianism throughout the world.

## To Strengthen NATO

(Continued from Page 21)

there be posed at the next meeting of the NATO Ministers, which takes place April 23, the following questions and proposals:

(1) The necessity of transforming NATO into something more than a military and economic "regulating" unit.

(2) NATO must become the instrument through which planning and policymaking can be developed to meet the political war of the Soviets. NATO should become a political clearing-house to enable the Free World to have a single and united policy.

(3) The activities of non-governmental organizations should be in some way synchronized into this type of political warfare, especially in the field of labor where the essential struggle goes on and where the final

decisions may be made or basically influenced.

(4) Provision must be made for the participation of trade union representatives on the national and international levels of the NATO organization. At the very least there should be a Trade Union Advisory Committee on the highest levels of consultation.

(5) The appointment of leading trade unionists to top positions in the NATO organization in order to give more effective attention to the problems of workers' standards of living, such as purchasing power, housing needs, manpower, migration, etc.

(6) In the placement of procurement contracts, serious consideration should be given to labor criteria as a means of increasing the degree of military and political security as well

as winning the enthusiastic support of the workers.

(7) In all military programs the economic capacity of countries must be seriously taken into account not merely on the basis of narrow economic or statistical considerations. For economic capacity is not merely a technical, absolutist concept but a relative one in which the humane or morale factor is extremely important. Meaningful consultations with labor unions can be a strategic factor in achieving production goals.

(8) The planning of the economies of Western Europe or their various degrees of integration must take into account the question of the proper allocation of raw materials so that price wars and inflation should not continue to eat at the vitals of the workers' purchasing power.

(9) Nor can one ignore for very long what goes on in the colonial or underdeveloped areas, especially those under the control of or allied

to certain powers in NATO. The free trade union world cannot go on supporting a policy in Western Europe which becomes either consciously or unconsciously the means for the repression of potential allies. The strengthening of NATO as a concrete incarnation of the free Atlantic Community imposes upon us the necessity to follow a more liberal policy based upon the principles of social progress, free trade unionism and eventual national freedom. If we fail, then the

peoples of these underdeveloped areas will become ripe unfortunately for a new form of imperialism which is far worse than anything experienced in the past.

(10) To the extent to which labor participates in the vital decisions of NATO and to the extent to which the policies of the free labor world are reflected in the decisions of NATO, to that extent will the free labor world be able to popularize and make more enthusiastic the reactions of millions

of workers who still regard military instruments with fear, skepticism and sometimes downright cynicism.

It is my opinion that unless this new venture into political warfare is undertaken we may see the whittling away of whatever military machine has already been erected by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The retention (aside from expansion) of the free world's military strength depends fully and squarely on this essentially political point.



This man is happy because he has just joined Labor's League for Political Education. He has voluntarily contributed his dollar to L.L.P.E. to help carry out a program in which he believes—the election of Senators and Congressmen who will serve the best interests of the American people by passing legislation required for the people's progress. And so this man is a happy man. He has made an investment in democracy. You can be happy, too. All you have to do is to contribute one dollar to Labor's League for Political Education. You will be given a receipt for your contribution. Do this today, won't you? It will make you feel mighty good—an active, participating citizen. L.L.P.E. needs your help. And you need L.L.P.E. and what L.L.P.E. can do for you.

## GIVE YOUR DOLLAR TODAY FOR A HEALTHIER AMERICA TOMORROW

Led by Director James L. McDevitt (left), Labor's League representatives are traveling up and down the country to mobilize support for labor's program of political education. Mr. McDevitt and his colleagues are working very hard to protect the well-being of all of us. They are entitled to our backing. Let's give it to them. In this photo, Mr. McDevitt is with William Schoenberg, president of the Cement Workers.



# Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Local 546, Paper Makers, and the Racquette River Paper Company, Potsdam, N. Y., have negotiated a first contract. The agreement calls for a general wage increase of 3 to 16 per cent, two additional paid holidays and other benefits.

►Members of Local 5, Photo-Engravers, employed in seven commercial rotogravure plants have won pay hikes of \$4 a week in a new contract with the Chicago Rotogravure Employers Association.

►A one-day strike won pay increases for 2,500 workers employed by smaller ship repair firms in New York. The Boilermakers, Plumbers, Machinists and Riggers were among the A. F. of L. affiliates involved.

►The A. F. of L. Joint Council of Dining Car Employees has won a National Mediation Board election on the Rock Island Railroad, 362 to 12. The losing union was the United Transport Service Employees.

►Local 107, Laundry Workers, has recently signed up four additional laundry and dry cleaning establishments in Indianapolis, Ind.

►Local 524, Teamsters, has signed a new dairy agreement with the Yakima Valley Association, Yakima, Wash.

►Local 2, Mailers, has won pay boosts of \$5 a week and a broad health and welfare plan in an agreement with members of the Franklin Association of Chicago. The advances benefit mailers who are employed in commercial printing plants.

►Local 877, Carpenters, has signed a new contract with the Detroit Breakfast Company, Detroit, Mich. The agreement includes a 7-cent pay increase and provisions for greatly improved holiday benefits.

►Local 1458, Municipal Employees, Brunswick, Me., has won the 40-hour week, time and one-half for overtime, 14 days of sick leave per year, two-week paid vacations, a seniority system and a grievance procedure.

►Newly reactivated, Local 427 of the Paper Makers has signed its first agreement with the Darby Paper Company, Lansdowne, Pa. The contract with Darby calls for a 20-cent hourly general wage increase.

►Local 645, Milk Drivers, has won a new contract with Rochester, N. Y., milk dealers. The new agreement lifts basic wages \$2 to \$8 weekly.

►Local 153, Office Employees, has won a \$3 weekly increase at the Workmen's Benefit Fund, New York City.

►Members of District 9, Machinists, employed at the Jasper Blackburn Products Corporation, St. Louis, have won a substantial pay increase, an improved vacation plan and additional benefits.

►A wage increase and other contract improvements have been obtained by the Machinists, Lodge 743, for 6,000 employees of the Hamilton Standard Division, United Aircraft Corporation, at Windsor Locks, Conn.

►Contractors and A. F. of L. building trades at Portsmouth, Ohio, have negotiated a one-year contract providing wage increases of 10 cents an hour for the Carpenters, Teamsters and Laborers.

►Local 195, Meat Cutters, has signed a new contract with beef slaughtering employers in Philadelphia. The agreement provides a wage hike across the board and additional health benefits.

►Local 398, Teamsters, has completed new agreements covering about 600 members employed in Rochester, N. Y. The various contracts increase wages 8 to 27 cents an hour.

►Local 33, Iron Workers, has won a "show-up time" dispute with the American Bridge Company, Pittsburgh, after a one-day walkout.

*A. F. of L.'s Serafino Romualdi (second from left) talks unionism with South American group*







*There is strong interest in education, and the attendance of trade unionists at sessions has been good*

## Labor Education in Iowa

*(Continued from Page 23)*

Compensation, Social Security Benefits and Survey of the Economic Outlook. Substitute topics can be State Safety Laws, Benefits from Community Chest Agencies or the Workmen's Compensation Act. Some brief period is devoted, in each institute, to Labor in World Affairs, and each meeting is opened with a prayer by a clergyman. Films are used occasionally.

While it was originally intended to hold the Weekend Labor Institutes in labor temples, experience has shown that larger groups are generally attracted when the institutes are held in hotels. Therefore, we now recommend that hotels be used. The only physical need, besides a properly planned seating and table arrangement, is a large blackboard.

The State Federation of Labor's director of education always arrives in the sponsoring city the day before the institute to help the central labor union's committee to perfect final plans.

Promotion of attendance at the weekend labor institutes includes letters to the local unions from the central labor union as well as personal appearances by central body delegates who visit local unions to urge a full attendance. Last-minute telephone work by the education committee is

also valuable as a reminder. In addition, the State Federation of Labor provides central labor unions with sample news releases and other advance materials.

Attendance at the Iowa weekend labor institutes has been encouraging. It has varied from twenty to eighty-five persons. Institutes or a variation of them have now been held in each of our active central labor unions. In addition, we have a follow-up plan for second and third institutes—devoted exclusively to political education—and these are now being held throughout the state. Average institute attendance has been about forty persons, with a total of about 830 now having taken part. We consider this a good attendance.

From the weekend labor institute we attempt to move the program still closer to the union members with a program operated exclusively by the central bodies themselves. These, in the form of central body education programs, are a series of twelve lesson plans sent to all affiliated organizations. Designed primarily for city centrals, they are, nevertheless, adaptable to city trade councils and local union programs. It is suggested that one lesson each month be used, at the first (or best attended) meeting, and that each lesson or "school" not

go beyond one hour. They are held immediately following the business meeting, generally. An excellent supplement to this program is the Workers Education Bureau's film-a-month program, which several of our central labor unions are now using. Films and especially film discussions are an invaluable asset to an educational program, particularly where highly controversial issues make the choice of a qualified speaker a problem.

Subjects suggested in our current central body education program lesson outlines are industrial and building trades safety, rights under the Social Security Act, history of the American Federation of Labor, the A. F. of L. and fair employment practices, world affairs of today, public speaking and procedure, how organized religion looks at organized labor, benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Act, workers' education and organizational strength, vocational rehabilitation and education in Iowa, rights under the employment security program, and civil defense. There is no particular order in which these need be treated.

Each lesson outline includes a list of government, labor or academic experts who are available free of charge to cover the topic. Great care obviously must be taken in naming an "expert."

About half of Iowa's central bodies regularly use this program and a few locals do also. Experience suggests,



*The educational activities have given A. F. of L. movement in Iowa a better informed membership*

however, that it is not the best type of program for a local union but is better suited to the work and interest of a central body. We are now directing our attention, therefore, to a program for locals. That at least half of our central labor unions carry on this program means that our education program is reaching hundreds of American Federation of Labor members every month.

An important feature of the central body education program and of our weekend labor institutes is that neither costs the sponsoring central labor union any appreciable amount of money. One great assist given by the American Federation of Labor and various government agencies is the quantities of free and excellently executed educational materials which are made available to affiliated organizations. Piece by piece, these are "indexed" into the program.

If one element of our whole education program is more important than all others, it is the central labor union's education committee. It is on the central bodies' committees and similar ones in the local unions that the success or failure of any educational program must rest. In Iowa the chairmen and the members of these committees have worked diligently and successfully.

Probably none of these programs could succeed without the cooperation of the labor press. Iowa has only seven A. F. of L. newspapers, but each one is a loyal supporter of the developing program. Also helpful are the information and advice available from such well-developed State Federation educational programs as those of Kentucky, Connecticut and Massachu-

setts. The educational directors of those State Federations—Jim Wolfe of Kentucky, Elizabeth Irwin of Connecticut and Frank Lavigne of Massachusetts, among others—have been of great help in starting our program in Iowa. Likewise the international unions' education directors, too numerous to mention, have helped in the teaching, in urging their Iowa members to participate and in contributing ideas.

It may seem that many have helped to do little—that the mountain labored and brought forth a mouse. Be that as it may, much work and help are needed to begin any program, however modest. The important point, it seems to me, is that, given cooperation and the will to do it, a State Federation can strengthen its organization through education.

In this age of fast and saturating communication, it is essential that the why, what and how of an education program be conveyed to the leaders and members and that it be kept before them. We therefore issue a Federation newsletter each month to all affiliated organizations. The State Federation of Labor's executive officers, board members and convention education committeemen are kept closely informed of developments and consulted for advice. Regular news releases are sent to the press, and articles in the State Federation's annual also explain the program. Speakers at the conventions of the State Federation of Labor emphasize the importance of an education program. These all help to make the Iowa labor education program meaningful and useful.

We know that there is much left to

do. It may be that a scholarship program for high school students is needed to stimulate sympathetic interest in trade unionism among the state's non-labor population. Certainly more needs to be done to bring education to the local union meetings. We of the Iowa State Federation of Labor feel, however, that we have made a good beginning.

Our Federation newsletter to all affiliates stimulates interest in and advises members about our programs and has become an important link in our work. At the planning stage we have an annual leadership training conference. We believe that our education program in Iowa has already given us a more informed membership, that it is producing more political awareness and a heightened recognition of the need for further trade union organization. Our surveys disclose that where our program is properly conducted, it is increasing attendance at union meetings. Iowa's trade unionists are showing that they believe in workers' education.

Union education programs cannot be properly evaluated or valued if they are considered something apart. Instead they must be a part—a part of the total program of the organization. Education programs can be used to educate Legislatures and the public. They can educate union members or non-members for organization, affiliation, political action, civil defense or whatever else is needed.

Education is an instrument of policy, a tool to bridge the gap of information which blocks so many paths. It can serve the purpose of the labor movement—the proper interests of the workers.

# Postal Employees' Leader Raps Department

**T**HE National Federation of Postoffice Clerks has accused Postoffice Department officials of using public money in an attempt to influence Congress in an improper way by ordering postmasters in all parts of the country to plant propaganda stories on postal wage legislation in the newspapers.

"The Postoffice Department has wilfully violated the law in using tax-paid facilities to set up a propaganda machine aimed at pressuring Congress," Leo E. George, president of the 115,000-member A. F. of L. union declared.

His grave charge resulted from a lengthy message sent on government-



LEO GEORGE

leased teletype facilities April 3 ordering postmasters to "contact local newspaper editors at once with the following text and arrange for its release to Monday papers."

The "text" was a radio speech by Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield in which he attacked legislation before Congress to give wage increases to postal employees. In the same speech Mr. Summerfield lauded his own job reclassification scheme, which is strongly disapproved by the postal workers.

Mr. George declared that "these messages, whose costs were borne by the American people, were in direct violation of a 1948 statute enacted by Congress."

The law to which he referred reads in part as follows:

"No part of the money appropriated by any enactment of Congress

shall, in the absence of express authorization by Congress, be used directly or indirectly to pay for any personal service, advertisement, telegram, telephone, letter, printed or written matter or other device, intended or designed to influence in any manner a member of Congress, to favor or oppose, by vote or otherwise, any legislation or appropriation by Congress, whether before or after the introduction of any bill or resolution proposing such legislation or appropriation."

"There is no doubt," said Mr. George, "that the Postoffice Department sought to build up pressure through propaganda to get Congress to enact the harmful and unrealistic Fry reclassification plan on postoffice jobs and salaries. \* \* \* Now the Postoffice Department has turned to actual unlawful procedures."

## Editors Hear Talks on H-Bomb, Politics, Social Security



THE American people are entitled to full facts on the destructive capacity of the hydrogen bomb, Congressman Chet Holifield of California told the Eastern Labor Press Conference at a luncheon in Washington's Willard Hotel on April 3. He also discussed proposals of private industry for the use of atomic energy. Emphasizing that in this field one is "dealing with a force that can destroy the world" and recalling that the American people, through their taxes, paid for the development of atomic and hydrogen power, Congressman Holifield said:

"The equity of the American people must be protected."

James L. McDevitt, director of Labor's League for Political Education, told the annual E.L.P.C. meeting that progress in the political field depends on the labor press. He pledged that the working people of the nation would be given the voting records and other pertinent information on the candidates in this year's Congressional elections.

Nelson Cruikshank, A. F. of L. director of social insurance activities, addressed the conference on social security developments. He answered questions.

Frank B. Powers was reelected as president of the E.L.P.C. Garland Ruark was elected secretary-treasurer to succeed J. Scott Milne, who resigned because of the press of other duties. Four new vice-presidents were named.

A serious, impressive speech was made by Rep. Holifield, who was witness at the A-bomb and H-bomb tests, including the most recent one.

John Connors (left), director of Workers Education Bureau, chatted with Marc Carriche of the I.L.O.



Nelson Cruikshank discussed social security developments





# Holiday Ahead

**T**EN whole days of vacation," said Christy Brown. "Think of that, Skip. Ten days—and so much to do."

"That's what will make time pass like lightning," said Skippy, her brother. "We'll hardly know what happened to it."

"Are you and your pals still going on your camping trip?" the girl asked.

"Sure. We've been planning this ever since February. We're going, all right. And what are you going to do?"

Skippy felt a little sorry for his sister. After all, Christy was only a girl—and one who had no prospects of a camping trip to add zest to living. Her lot was one to inspire the pity of a thirteen-year-old boy. She was three years older.

"Right now I'm getting my Easter outfit ready," said Christy. "You saw my new suit, didn't you?"

"I did," the boy said. "Well, I've got to get Uncle Pete's sleeping bag out of the attic."

"I hope our Easter trip will work out as we think it will," said Christy. "I've never been to Washington, and I can hardly wait."

"Yeah, that will be good. I'm in the attic, Chris, if Tommy comes over."

A few minutes later the doorbell rang, but it was not Tommy. It was Esther Forbush, Christy's chum. A large box was in her arms.

"Oh, Chris, I couldn't wait to show you. Mother and I went downtown and—"

"Come on in. Quick, untie the box and let me see."

"It's the dearest little suit, really, and Mother got me a blouse." She held up the jacket. "Do you like it?"

"Oh, it's a beauty," said Christy. "You'll look simply lovely in it, Esther. Here, hold up the skirt, too."

As the girls were discussing clothes Tommy arrived. He was directed to the attic. When he reached the attic, Tommy made an odd face and said:

"What's with your sister and that other girl?"

"Oh, they're getting ready to go on a trip and they're off their rockers over some clothes. To hear them,



you'd think they never had anything to wear. Come on, Tom. Help me move this box. If we can get to that chest over there, I think we'll find all the equipment we need. Uncle Pete's small tent and bed-roll are in it, and the rest of his gear. He told me to use all I wanted."

Soon the boys were noisily shoving and tugging to get to the treasure.

"What's going on up there?" Esther asked Christy. "It sounds like an earthquake."

"Two boys in an attic. That's like an explosion, you know. They're getting out some of Uncle Pete's stuff to go camping with."

While the girls were busily trying on clothes for each other's admiration, Christy's mother came in.

"Children, I'm home," she called. "Chris! Who's with you? And have you seen Skippy?"

Christy and Esther promptly entered the room, wearing their new suits. They turned slowly for Mrs. Brown's inspection. She was lavish in her praise of the amateur models preening themselves before her.

"Esther and I are thrilled over our suits, Mother. And did you get the tickets all right?"

"Yes, indeed. Esther, your mother and I have both decided to go on the trip. We have the tickets. They are here in my purse. I have one for Lucille, Tessie, Jacqueline, Sally, you

two and our two. When you go home, Esther, will you tell your mother I have them all? You girls can call the others and tell them, too. We will leave Tuesday morning. We get into Washington that evening."

"That's wonderful, Mrs. Brown. Incidentally, my father brought home some notebooks for each of us to take along. He suggested we keep a diary or record. Then after we get back home we can report to the Junior Union on our visit to the nation's capital."

"Say, that's a marvelous idea," said Christy. "And that reminds me that one of the things I want to do in Washington is visit as many of the union headquarters as I can."

"You'll have a chance to play the old game of keeping lists of how many trades and crafts go with you on your trip," said Mrs. Brown, smiling. "Starting right now, you're outfitted by A. F. of L. garment trades members."

"And our hats and shoes are also made by A. F. of L. members," added her daughter.

"We'll go on a train that's manned by trade unionists," said Esther.

"I bought the tickets from a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks," said Mrs. Brown.

"Oh, we'll find lots of different trade unions in the transportation business," said Christy. "And, of course, the hotel where we'll stay is organized by the Hotel Employees."

"Even the government workers belong to a union," said Esther. "My aunt is a member of the American Federation of Government Employees."

Just then Skippy and Tommy clattered down the stairs, dragging heavy bundles after them.

"Out of our way!" bellowed Skippy. "Our safari is about to land."

A second later the landing was a jumble of boys, tents and bundles.

"No casualties, I guess," said Mrs. Brown as the boys gathered themselves and their equipment together. "All right, boys. Out you go. And, girls, change your clothes. I must start dinner. Let's simmer down for the present. I think we're going to have a beautiful Easter holiday, but right now there's work to be done."

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